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Boston, Mass.

My dear friend  
I have just received your letter  
of the 10th inst. and am  
glad to hear from you.

I am well and hope this  
letter finds you the same.  
I have been thinking much  
of late of the future of  
the country and of the  
people who are to live  
in it. I feel that we  
are in a very critical  
position and that we  
must do something to  
save ourselves. I am  
not sure what to do,  
but I am sure that  
we must do something.

I am, dear friend,  
very truly yours,  
Wm. Lloyd Garrison





27 JULY 1942



1  
July 25. The use of scrip money in Chicago  
and suspension of money payment by  
banks in Germany shows how money  
system is breaking down.

My idea about Gandhi creating  
trust fits in with the complaint  
that credit is controlled entirely by  
banks. Each man's credit (the trust  
of other people in him) ought to be  
and really is in his own hands.  
Banks issue money credit to people  
who can make lots of money to  
pay them interest. Not so with  
real trust. That is spontaneous result  
of work & character.

Perhaps Gandhi ought not to have  
signed Ballin pact unless all the

provincial governors also signed. But Gandhi could not have compelled that at that stage. Irwin had not enough control over provinces to keep his side of the pact. Willingdon has less.  $\therefore$  A violation is inevitable, in view of provincial officials' attitude.

The majority of Working Com. would rather desert their peasants than desert Britain. Afraid of world opinion. Gandhi must not pay too much attention to world opinion. He can create it.

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The middle class desire for security is based partly on the assumption or feeling that this life on earth is the only one here or anywhere. I.E. it disbelieves in the eternity of the soul. Is not much of the



reluctance of the bourgeoisie to give up their position - social &c - based upon this idea of security. Part of it is a desire for psychological security, a security of habits. But the world upset is smashing <sup>many</sup> ~~all~~ our habits.

Gandhi's present struggle is one to carry the Indian middle class with him. I fear that if he goes to England it will be a desertion of the workers, because of the intrusion of the B. M. They sacrifice too much. The struggle is to wean the middle class Indians from their habit. Very difficult. Part of the battle is helping them to understand & see clearly that their greatest security, in actuality, is reliance on God. Commit <sup>all</sup> the way into the Lord, trust alone him & he shall bring it

to pass". Trusting to the soul means  
partly trusting in the law of love. Gandhi  
has by example showed how that can be  
done economically. To organize a plan for  
mough relief. Spinning, weaving, tailoring  
dyeing, grinding our flour, <sup>by hand</sup> hanging  
what, using to make. Hindustani was direct,  
create a new organization of society under the old.  
See your history —

Re brahmacharya, Bapu is right for  
national workers in crisis. But is not all  
the world in crisis all the time? Sim-  
plicity by men & women is absolutely  
necessary. For beauty, we proportions &  
outdoors.

"Law and order" does not mean absence  
of violence. It means only that the violence  
is carefully organized and used to maintain  
a certain set of ideas (& a certain group of



people whom those ideas favor) in power. It is the set of ideas that is primary, altho the Marxians think it is the group of people. That is one distinction between Gandhi & Russians. Law & order necessarily means a particular kind of law & a particular kind of order, - that which upholds a certain group of ideas. The ideas that require violence to uphold them are not right.

Does abandonment by an individual <sup>individual man</sup> of his class mean the loss of all science & knowledge? <sup>important</sup> No, for if all did that none of the <sup>important</sup> knowledge would go. The science that requires expensive laboratories is not the most important. - not the biological.



# Gandhi's 10 Rules that Govern Him

## Include Love, Chastity and Altruism

SIMLA, India, July 25 (AP)—Mahatma Gandhi, though he balked at giving the world a new code based on modern needs, today outlined the rules which have guided his own conduct. "It would be presumptuous of me to attempt to lay down rules for others," he said, "but I don't mind telling you what my own have been. They are like so many lampposts guiding me through life's pathway, and they have guided numberless of my co-workers."

These are the rules he gave:

1—Truth.  
2—Ahimsa, which may be translated into English as love.

3—Brahmacharya, which may be inadequately expressed as chastity.

4—Restraint of the palate, which he elaborates as eating for the mere sustenance of the body; abstaining from intoxicating drinks and drugs such as opium and tobacco.

5—Abstaining from the possession of things for one's self.

6—Adherence to life's law that one's bread must be earned by the sweat of one's brow.

7—Swadeshi, the belief that man's primary duty is to serve his neighbor.

8—Belief in the equality of all mankind.

9—Belief in the equality of all the great faiths of the world.

10—Fearlessness.

Re N.V.R. book, children  
should be taught that  
N.V.R. gives power, is mature  
(grows up), & dignified.

Publishers to try my book on.  
(on Kishinadas) (all in NY).

Brewer, Warren & Putnam,  
Minton Balch, Kendall <sup>AA Alfred A.</sup> Knopf,  
Farrar & ~~Ros~~ Rinehart,

Richard R. Smith, Inc., Viking Press, 15 E. 48<sup>th</sup>,  
John Day, Little Brown & Co., Harper & Bros.,  
Howard-McCann, E.P. Dutton, Dodd <sup>and</sup> Mead &  
Co. (449 4<sup>th</sup> Ave), Doubleday, Doran & Co.,  
Harrison Smith, Macaulay, 381 4<sup>th</sup> Ave.,  
Dial Press, F.A. Stokes & Co.,



7  
Honora Liversight, Dec., Henry Holt & Co.,  
W. W. Norton.

Replied by Century, Simon & Schuster, Little & Brown.

Under Gandhi's social program the  
controllers of society  
~~leaders~~ could not be idlers & parasites.  
They would have to be hard workers for  
service of common people.

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The owners of primary natural resources  
seem always most anti-social; e.g.  
land owners, coal mine operators. They  
control fundamental energy sources.

Socialism à la Russe ends the social hierarchy control, creates some trust & is otherwise many system somewhat, but not so much as Gandhism. Satyagrah small scale organization, lehradi, small machinery are points in which G expels socialism, by reason of, <sup>creating</sup> greater & deeper & more lasting trust, a sounder system, a sounder polit & social system.

Under Gandhism's program every man is his own banker (i.e. creates his own credit & trust by his own actions, character & attitude). No longer will credit be in the centralized control of financiers.

Two Hindu books on sex & love, translated into English: Kamasutra of Vatsyana. 350 pp. Rs 4. Angaranga by Kalaya-namallu. 342 pp. Rs 4. Prijnadhan & Co. Amritsar. Perhaps free on order above Rs 10.



## Religion the Outcome of Solitude

Dr. Robert J. Hutcheon's theme today was "The Co-operative Spirit as the Aim of Religious Education." Dr. Hutcheon quoted Whitehead's much-quoted definition of religion, that it is what man does with his solitude, and agreed to it as a partial definition. Each individual is a personal center of experience in which no one else shares, he said. In the last analysis, each soul is inaccessible to any other soul. All personal religion comes out of the experience of an individual soul. The great religions of the past which have had personal founders, sprang out of an experience that came to the prophet in solitude—Amos, Jesus, Buddha, Mahomet. The creative source of great religions is the unique experience of a solitary man. This is true also of genius: it is generally nurtured in solitude.

Yet, Dr. Hutcheon emphasized this morning that religion is what a man does with his human relations. A man can do nothing with his solitude unless he carries into his solitude either a rich personal and social experience of his own or a memory stored with events and creations of man's associated life. Even the mystics, for the most part if not entirely, find in their solitary experience the truths already embodied in the religious traditions of their race. The great creative artists only work over into a new form the legends and myths of the race. Dr. Hutcheon instanced the Greek tragedians, Shakespeare, Goethe and others who have done this.

## The Lost Art of Living Together

by which "time and place are measured for every fact and act of man."

In a recent address by the present assistant to the director of the bureau, the important part of this art in the world's life is suggested:

Commerce is the exchange of measured things. Every transaction involves five measures: quantity, quality, value, place and time. All are measured. Quantity, in number and unit; quality, in measures of its properties; value, in terms of weight of gold; place, east or west of Greenwich, north or south of the Equator, up or down from sea level; time, in terms of the turning earth and its trip around the sun, the calendar.

In his pursuit of the means and methods of accurate measurement Dr. STRATTON became incidentally a director of research. When he left the bureau, which had at the time a score of employes,

## Losing Self in a Great Cause

Dr. Hutcheon quoted from Donald Hankey what he called almost the profoundest observation about courage which he has known. This refers to the very roots of courage—unselfishness. By forgetting self in some cause that seems to be tremendously significant, one's petty worries about oneself will disappear, as long as the cause goes on. The utter devotion of one's whole personality to some socially valuable or personally satisfying enterprise puts an end to fear and prepares one for what would otherwise be one's hardest sacrifices.

If the cause is felt to be not only personal but racial or universal, one touches the source of the serenest courage the world has ever known. The reality and significance of that kind of an experience can never be lost. It is common to all religions, Dr. Hutcheon said. The inner assurance that, so long as one follows the path of duty as each day reveals it to him, no harm can befall one, is to those who are capable of it not merely the memory of a thrilling moment, but a dynamic power strengthening the will, renewing the energy and clarifying the vision until one sees a brighter future for the human race. Some such courageous attitude toward life must be cultivated if the values of the past are to be preserved and handed on to coming generations.

*Elinor suggests that it would be very interesting to study the symbolism of postures and gestures. Would need an anthropologist, an historian and a psychologist & something of an actor, all rolled into one.*

1  
Machinery & Capitalism together take away from the worker his economic & intellectual freedom. Does either alone do it in the long run?

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The India <sup>to India</sup> time is growing, England's lack of home funds, ~~to~~ & ∴ is not wanted,

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Gandhi's program affects money in two of its aspects, - both now badly abused & very powerful, - as a store of value and as a symbol of credit.

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<sup>self</sup> Sacrifice is a potent way of showing & realizing unity.

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England cannot recover economically until India does. So if India goes to pieces politically, she will also go econ-



originally. Indian freedom is indispensable to her recovery. In event of complete revolution Bapu's will be the only real program before the country, ~~as~~ as it has a devoted crowd of believers, it will survive, just as Bolsheviks plan did.

The Br. nomination to R.T.C. of Mrs. Naidu & Malaviya discloses Br policy of divide & rule & shows their attempt & partial success in splitting the Congress. But it may work out, if these 2 accept, <sup>& Bapu does not.</sup> as a purging & not a weakening. It reveals to Bapu Br policy. It is an insult to the Working Com & to Bapu. I expect that there are enough provincial officers opposed to Br. govt policy to do enough duty work before the

15<sup>th</sup> to prevent Bapu from going.  
I think Bapu may have arranged with  
Jawaharlal to hold on to the last  
moment, letting the B. show  
themselves up completely, & then  
Bapu refuse to go, declare the  
truce broken & start the struggle  
again. On what other basis  
would Jawaharlal stay by Bapu?

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In review of NVR book must  
something a Gandhi's Dilli tactics,  
& Als Ols.

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Just because Gandhi may die or  
India's freedom be not attained this  
time, it is of special importance to  
help Indians to understand & have  
faith in Gandhi's full program. I



have done that in part on his Sc of K.  
 Let me try it further re symbols.

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When any given set of symbols is first invented they are usually adequate to express the knowledge or attitudes of the time. During their first expansion & development this is also true, & then power increases. Then conditions change, - the further detailed development & application of the symbols show gaps, & defects, & inadequacies, new needs arise to which they are not fitted, knowledge & apprehension of reality deepens & widens, circumstances become more complex. In last stages the symbols become abused & corrupted in hands of selfish men. Then

people become discontented, baffled,  
searching blindly for new values  
& freedom, true, more accurate  
symbols.

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Whether or not Gandhi should go  
to London depends not upon the extent  
to which Britain & provincial officials  
violate the truth, but on the extent of  
Congress discipline. Of that the Working  
Committee are the only ones able to judge.  
Last night's (Aug 9<sup>th</sup>) news of the  
Congress demands for R.T.E. sound firm

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The only way to solve the  
Hindu-Muslim quarrel is to  
end Br. rule. The quarrel was  
fomented by Brs & kept up by her,  
or ~~it is~~ at least it is hopeless of favors



from her that keeps alive Hindu hostility  
to Hindus. Therefore removal of Satyagra-  
ha is the only way.

I am revising 2 V.R. book under Swift  
Manning's criticism in his letter of July 23, 1950.

In my pamphlet a new valuation,  
perhaps not say it is end of capital-  
ism, but merely the correction of  
money system.

The Indian Congress with their  
idea that no public servant shall  
get more than Rs 500 salary per  
month are the only crowd in the  
world ~~who~~ outside the Russians  
who are facing realistically the  
world full in prices & the right

relationships between masses & intellectual  
or specialists or leaders.

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Socialists go on the theory  
that a change of motive from  
selfishness (capitalism) to unselfish-  
ness (socialism) plus change of  
ownership from private to public  
in relation to certain machinery of  
society will be enough. Bore's  
program has the same change of  
motive, but goes much deeper  
than a mere change of ownership.  
It changes the psychological  
controls. Under any scheme of  
yours those who learn to manip-  
ulate the psychology will control,  
when the symbolism & rationalism  
have degenerated.



It is more important for India to get rid of hatred & fear of Britain than to get rid of British in India. The latter riddance without the former would be but slight advance. One help in getting rid of fear and other attachment is to understand the object feared, hated or otherwise attached to. If my proposed pamphlet can help Indians to understand money & money control & how political controls work, then they can be more objective toward the British & no longer have the inner attachment & regarding which indignation & anger are indications of an inner striving for reparation.

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A revision of my R V R book perhaps refutes Fend's "Civilization &

its Discontents".

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Bypass full program modifies & greatly decreases the power of fear, money, social flatteries & divisions, parliamentarianism. These are the chief means of control nowadays.

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Landlordism & private personal property, <sup>& control of press</sup> are secondary in importance as controls as compared with money, fear, social flatteries & parliamentarianism, for these latter are <sup>more</sup> psychological & ∴ more subtle.

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In my pamphlet quote the line from Sister Visuddhi re understanding.



Some people say law ~~for~~ custom & habit control society. But what start & guide & control these? Values & symbols.

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India is a better place than most for a revision of money system.

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The ineffectiveness of the British & German Socialist Govts & the modifications of Communism in Russia are at least part proof of the soundness of my idea of social controls.

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Contrary to my idea a year ago in regard to Indian Moderates, I see them now as hopelessly cowardly & attached to status quo. <sup>not of them.</sup> They will not join Congress until Britain have

& many not even then

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Aug 16. Lastie, Jayakar & Jayan will  
now not carry quite so much weight w.  
the B. in London because they have failed  
to bring Gandhi there. The danger of  
peasant revolt is now much greater  
than last winter & the B. know it & have  
acknowledged it. With all the govt has  
done since Gandhi was released, - refusal of  
Irvine to have police inquiry, refusal to let  
Gandhi go to N.W.F. province, Canjore  
not disclose; police atrocities at Daultan,  
Punjab, N.W.F., U.P., Kerala, & Bardoli;  
allowing liquor to be sold outside licensed  
places; attitude of Bombay & U.P. governors, D.C.'s  
& other officials, Gov. of Punjab's speech re  
Gand Congress; mention of Bhagat Singh;  
statements by Churchill, T. E. Hall, Hunter,



Parl & other diehards; attitude of Tory press;  
 refusal of Tories to come to a conference in India;  
 refusal of Wellington fringing into ~~the~~ disputes on Delhi; post;  
 questions in Parl re safeguards; - all  
 these and many more have clarified the  
 situation for Gandhi & all Congressmen &  
 it has all gone to increase Indian trust in Brit. good faith  
 settled them vs Mr. Blandishments. Will  
 be much harder now to get Gandhi to  
 come to London & his attitude than if he  
 goes will be much stiffer and more full  
 of implication. All these things have again  
 taught Indians how the Br. say one  
 thing & do something different. Withdraw  
 Indian moderate support of Govt.

It is quite clear now that Unionists have  
 been stirred to take their present position  
 by the Br., & that the quarrel will not  
 cease until Br. is driven out. Makes  
 likelihood of civil war greater.

For Britain the choice becomes sharper

between open war & reunion & clearing out  
altogether. It looks like a coalition of  
parties as probable, and if so the Tories &  
their policy will become stronger. Churchill  
now are stronger, for opinion in Br vs  
India has hardened. Great opinion is  
certain, but within 2 months of it the  
internal discussion in Br will become  
increasingly stronger & ~~the~~ any alliance  
cannot last. French pressure will  
increase & American opinion will  
become more doubtful.

The announced gloom of Indian  
delegates to N.T.C. & they sailed shows they  
realize they are trapped & will be ignored  
because they don't count except for show.  
The immense effort by Br to get  
Gandhi to come has increased the  
importance of G. & the Congress in the eyes



of the world ; & now that he is not going,  
the B.C. will have a hard time to persuade  
the world that there is any reality to  
the R.T.C. Even if Viceroy should later  
yield & Gandhiji goes, the incident  
has increased his prestige & power at  
London & before the world.

Gandhiji's statement that he will stay in  
Ahmedabad until govt puts him in jail  
sounds rather as if he expects that to take  
place fairly soon. He has read the B.C.  
official attitude pretty closely. Undoubtedly  
all the Congressmen since the impending  
struggle & will be stronger in their  
work & this will tend to create more  
friction with police.

Acting without attachment to fruits  
helps to dignify the situation & so

increases one's understanding.

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It is quite possible that the present  
Br. financial crisis is due to fact that  
they realize that India is lost; that  
to fight her would cost more millions of  
money & more loss of prestige than to lose  
her. If so Gandhi's refusal to go to  
Gandara is the greatest defeat Br. has  
ever had. Certain it is that this  
Br. financial crisis will greatly exas-  
perate the Indian struggle. God is  
with India.

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If a very large section of Islam  
in India go to civil war vs Congress,  
it will be the ruin of Islam.



Another reason why price competition of K is not all important is because eventually most of the K will not be sold but will be for home use.

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Relate the use of symbols to the establishment & ~~maintenance~~ maintenance of conditional reflexes. <sup>change of symbols means a reconditioning of reflexes. Takes time & is painful & seems blundering & disorganized.</sup>

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a special treatment

Govt of India says, "it cannot give Congress any privileges not shown to other parties. Did it not do so by signing the Delhi treaty? Did it not ask special things of Congress? The treaty itself, asking Gandhi to come to London, is a special treatment of Congress. A treaty comes between people & god is a trial. Why should not Congress be allowed to do so?"

### Research In Yoga.

It is very gratifying to note that scientific research in Yoga is becoming fairly popular both in India and abroad. The excellent research work that has been made during the last few years by Swami Kuvalayanand in his Institute known as Kaivalyadhama at Lonavala is now becoming supplemented by Shri Yogendra who is known to have founded several Yoga Institutes in India and America. While the work of Swami Kuvalayanand is being chronicled in the monthly magazine "Yoga Mimansa," Shri Yogendra has undertaken to publish the results of his wide experience and research in a series of 12 books on Yoga with special reference to Yogic processes of healing and physical culture. The second volume of the series, entitled "Yoga Personal Hygiene", was published a few days ago; and the first volume, being a History of Practical Yoga is announced to be awaiting publication. "Yoga Personal Hygiene" is an excellent book of its kind and is thoroughly scientific in its treatment and practical in its scope (pages 300, price Rs. 10; P.O. Box 481, Bombay). It explains and recommends the best methods, including Yogic methods, of maintaining perfect health and vigour and promoting longevity and rejuvenation. The author's recommendations have the merit of being based on thorough knowledge both of the Yoga system and his study of up-to-date Western health literature.

### Structure of Culture

If the village should be restored to its premier position as the basis of *Swaraj* and the foundation of Indian Nationalism, then all its needs can be studied only through the vernacular language: its artisans can be communicated with only through the vernacular; its crafts can be restored through a communion which the vernacular language alone can establish. Language is not merely the vehicle of thought or medium of communication but it is the store-house of a whole culture, the resting place of the traditions which embody the experiences of a whole past. Language is not a mechanical aid to administration but it is the one means of expression of a whole civilization and if in India, her ancient culture should be rehabilitated the stream of that culture could be made to flow only by the confluence of its various tributaries carrying their contents into it and enriching it in quality and volume. Years ago in inaugurating the movement

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by  
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Suggested by letter  
from B.W. - It is more  
important to have a goal  
and a method than it  
is to have a set 5 year  
plan or any rigid structure  
of society. I.e. Baylis' methods and his goal  
of mutual respect & self-respect & unity of  
all men & God in each man is better than



The Russian Socialist plan & structure of society. That is because the means & end are one & because organization & structure grow out of motive & function & action.

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Quote from "Aggressive Hinduism" by Sister Nivedita

"There is a saying in India that to see through Maya is to destroy her. But few realize how literally this is true. The disaster or difficulty that has caused to confuse and bewilder us, is about to be defeated. The evil about which we can think and express ourselves clearly, has already lost its power. To measure our defeat accurately is to reverse it. When a people, <sup>from the highest to the lowest,</sup> as a people, are united in straight

and steady understanding of their circumstances, without doubt and without illusion, then events are about to precipitate themselves. Discrimination is the mark of the highest spirituality."

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The increasing crimes of violence in India will make Bapu liable to leave & make him impose very strict conditions upon his leaving, so strict, ~~I think~~, that I think the Govt will not agree to them, so he will stay & the struggle will begin again.

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I am not opposed to Socialism. I only think Gandhism is better. It has all the strongest points of Socialism without its weakness.



non-violent,

It is more flexible, less rigid plan,  
not highly centralized. Has all the  
equilibrium, ~~and~~ power to the  
poor, a more profound, ~~more~~  
complete, subtle and powerful  
revolution.

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Mrs. Gandhi & Malaviya ought not to  
have accepted invitation to R.T.C. for  
it was merely a scheme of Britain's to  
split the Congress by flattering them.

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The so-called "better understanding" between  
labour & capital in the U.S. & G.B. is largely  
a result of capturing & corrupting the minds  
of the workers by capitalist "money" ideology.  
That is a large part of "education" today; a  
conditioning of minds of all people to money  
valuations & modes of action. The

2, part of of the present crisis is due to  
the fact that we are governed by money.  
Balancing the budget is more important  
to the privilege than is the <sup>physical & spiritual</sup> welfare of  
the people.

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The money price fallacy spoils also  
the "miserable pillage" argument as  
the

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The fact that government is through  
values & symbols which last is one  
reason why assassination is n.g. as a  
political remedy.

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We must have values & symbols  
always, but to prevent their making  
trouble they ought to be periodically  
re-evaluated and corrected & adjusted &



modified to meet changing weights & balances.

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Aug 24. The fall of the <sup>Br</sup> "Solon" Govt today means a stiffening of the policy toward India. I suspect that some group of Bank of England planned it all. Clearly the lobby of foreign bankers & Br. audit have been exaggerated, but Borden & Macdonald have been so flattered & misled by their political associations, the King & financiers, that they believe whatever these people tell them. It is a swing toward conservatism.

In a sense it means no change as far as Gandhi's going to London is concerned, except in so far as it stiffens Wellington & Br. attitude in India. Gandhi is trying to make it easy for Govt to yield, but in matter of outward form, just on actual provisions he

will insist on conditions that unwilling-  
ness will not grant. We will think  
before we can afford to be tiffed with  
Bismarck. But if I win is in new  
Cabinet he will wield influence. But  
since he holds under ~~theory~~ it is ~~not~~.

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The trust generated by public  
service may take the form of mass  
political assistance

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Any man who wears blindi need  
not shrink if Br. govt officials or  
employers hang him for it. It <sup>is</sup> not  
a mere gesture of innocent sympathy;  
it is a declaration of independence &  
is sure to create opposition.

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Mutual trust is the real psychological



wealth of a country. Until it exists  
 no amount of material wealth is of <sup>value</sup> use,  
 for it cannot be exchanged & put to use.  
 So selfishness kills wealth. Unselfish  
 service, and work, is wealth.  
 That is why the recent saying "Congress  
 needs not leaders but workers" is  
 true.

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Keeping Macdonald in a premier is an  
 indication of the importance of India in  
 the new shift, & is also the appoint-  
 ment of Sir S. Hoare as Secy for India.  
 Strengthening of Conservative opposition also  
 to have Harding in Cabinet. It  
 foreshadows what Mr. B. plans in  
 shaping new legislation for India as  
 well as for R.T.C. The whole shift is  
 an indication of the spirit of fear

among the ruling class, & the depth  
of extent of the crisis. They know  
what a row is coming in India.  
Macdonald is a good card to play around  
or beside, no Conservative or Liberal  
finger will be burned by his  
failures. The release of Salvo from  
the Govt will mean a stronger  
opposition in G. B. against Govt  
policies in India. Salvo is no longer  
tied to the duty work. That  
will mean much when the struggle  
comes. The new Govt is not a  
National Govt, for Salvo is definitely  
out of it. Thomas, Snowden &  
Macdonald have deserted their party  
& will probably be formally struck  
out.

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Write Borge that Dr. method of splitting  
A.T.C. + 1 Indian <sup>g.</sup> into a lot of separate questions  
is the old principle of divide & rule applied  
to intellectual & moral situation. A mistake  
to analyze until the full principle is considered  
does not the mind & senses do that in  
general, and thus destroy the unity of  
the soul? Also write him that the

break of Sabar from Dr. goes to a moral  
help to India. <sup>Tories have apparently overreached themselves</sup> The Sabar <sup>Themselves</sup> <sup>strong</sup> <sup>the only policy is</sup> <sup>by compelling Englishmen to leave</sup> <sup>Putting Satyagraha again</sup> <sup>into action will insure unity. Any other course understanding is enough.</sup> <sup>problem</sup>

J's program is superior to Socialism  
because (1) symbols are more important  
than organizations in carrying out a  
system of values, because symbols carry  
<sup>with</sup> more emotional weight than organization,  
(2) because J's program promotes more  
daily detailed practical work for mass. It is  
not just talk and political organization

until the object is achieved, a <sup>common</sup> daily cc.  
a real job for everyone, an implement  
ing of purpose in terms of more than  
talk.

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Perhaps Gandhi wants to get the  
R.T.C. over as soon as possible, so as to  
resume struggle as quickly as he can, for  
the forces of discipline will not last  
forever without some action. Also the  
struggle may start in his scheme  
under leadership of Vallabhbhai. That  
would be with Bapu's approval & would  
reinforce his arguments at London.  
They could not say he refused to  
negotiate.

Gandhism is superior to socialism  
in India

- (1) In abolishing violence & its symbols
  - (2) In attacking directly the old social gradations & symbols
  - (3) In changing notions & values & symbols with least possible change of social structure & habits of <sup>major</sup> ~~people~~
  - (4) In providing occupation for peasants indirectly
  - (5) In providing direct action (should be) for action, a form of social service to bring in new order, that each person of any age & condition can do. Sound psychologically.
- 

Is the desire to exercise power over people & things partly because of lack of right relationship with God?



Perhaps the creation of a right  
 relationship toward God (eternal & futuristic)  
 is the kind of "action in passion" of which  
 the Gita speaks. It is action outside  
 space & time i.e. in the realm beyond  
 physical action.

---

From my theory about trust one might  
 argue that  $\therefore$  workers ought to trust  
 capitalism. But no, for latter is  
 founded on divisiveness & selfishness.  
 Trust the spirit of God in each man,  
 not the spirit of egoistic selfishness.

---

The fight of Br. capitalists to  
 stabilize the pound - at all costs seems to  
 be also a fight to retain gold as basis of  
 money, because if that goes now with all  
 the keen thinking about money, money

will cease to be regarded as a commodity &  
then its control will vanish

---

Sensitive rich people may tend to  
play with those of their own kind  
because they are repulsed by the  
evidences of <sup>gross</sup> envy, or part of poorer  
people.

---

If I am seeking to develop a new  
faculty (e.g. of sensitiveness to God, of sensitiveness  
or understanding of art, of mathematics, or anything  
pertaining to work, etc.) I must apply the law of growth,  
i.e. use a regular, rhythmic, small &  
perhaps steadily increasing <sup>activity</sup> stimulus, over  
a considerable period of time. Same of  
repetition & innovation.

---

Before Gandhi went to London



he had proved to the whole Congress & all India  
by the refusal of the Viceroy & Govt. to yield  
any justice, that the Ase. have had no  
change of heart. Thus have the Ase. made  
Gandhi's unwilling to make compromises or  
concessions, unwilling to treat them.  
On going he said he had no hope, & yet  
is hoping no hope. This is creative of an  
attitude that will yield him support  
of world opinion when the time comes  
to view the struggle. Also will increase  
Indian unity.

The companionship of soul & body is  
perhaps like marriage.

Mental trust is the greatest part of  
the psychological wealth of a nation. Moral  
edge & skill are another part of such

psychological wealth. Without this  
psychological wealth, material things  
are of little or no value.

---

Small organizations tend to prevent  
the rise of parliamentarianism, partly  
because the problems are simpler,  
the ~~debate~~ details of the question are  
matters of direct personal knowledge to  
all those who discuss (no hearing!),  
and because those who discuss will  
take part in the resultant action.

20

---

Sept 2. Recent chemical investigations  
of the adrenal secretion (cortin) shows  
that ten days exposure at 2 hrs a day,  
or an equivalent exposure to cold  
actually increases the size of the  
adrenal glands. Cortin<sup>adrenalin</sup> is essential



to health. This indicates value of a  
variable climate & of numerous species.

---

Sept 3. It looks to me as if Mr. financiers  
have grossly exaggerated the financial  
crisis partly in order to throw Solon &  
out of the joint ~~control~~ & India  
office, & partly in order to lower  
wages & generally weaken Solon. This  
sides Mr. infes. and also the deflation of  
Solon in U.S. ~~The~~ Also Mr. was able to  
persuade U.S. & France to come in &  
underwrite Mr. policies & thus will  
have their aid in dealing with India  
& Africa. Mr. could have mortgaged  
much of her external loans & sold  
them, as during the war. I noticed  
she got U.S. & France to loan her  
money. The borrower can win if he

understands how to use credit &  
many symbols better than the leaders.  
But I think that Be will crack in  
India & on weakening of capitalisms.

---

Detachment is the essence of  
esthetic feeling. Relate this to the  
detachment of the Gita.

---

To call a man inconsistent is  
evidence that you disagree with  
him, probably dislike or mistrust  
him, or do not understand him.  
Inconsistency is a universal human  
attribute, & to single it out to  
condemn merely shows prejudice.

---

Mass Satyagraha is probably a  
superior method than Socialist devices, because



the masses are less apt to be corrupted than a few leaders. But this is speculative, for the masses are certainly easy to corrupt in America.

Quotations from "The Philosophy of 'As If'", by H. Vaihinger, trans. by C.K. Ogden, Megan Paul & Harcourt Brace. 1924.

p. xxx. Law of the Preponderance of the Means over the "End". -- "An original means working toward a definite end has the tendency to acquire independence and to become an end in itself."

p. xlii. .... "Scientific Fictions are to be distinguished from Hypotheses. The latter are assumptions which are probable, assumptions the truth of which can be proved by further experience. They are therefore

verifiable. Fictions are never verifiable,  
for they are hypotheses which are  
known to be false, but which are  
employed because of their utility.  
--- "God and immortality--are fictions  
of ethical value."

x/iii "all knowledge is a reduction of  
the unknown to the known, that is  
to say a comparison.

xlv. -xlviii. "Philosophical analysis leads  
eventually, from an epistemological standpoint,  
to rational contents, and from a  
psychological to sensations, feelings and  
strivings or actions. Scientific analysis  
leads to another concept of reality, to  
matter and the smallest constituents  
and motions of matter. [The world of  
consciousness and the world of motion].  
Naturally it is impossible for the



mind as such to bring these two spheres of reality into a rational relation, although in intuition and experience they form a harmonious unity. ---

"Thought is originally only a means in the struggle for existence and to this extent only a biological function."

--- ~~"The 'as if' world, the world."~~

--- "all thought-processes and thought-constructs appear a priori to be not essentially rationalistic, but biological phenomena."

"In this light many thought-processes and thought-constructs appear to be consciously false assumptions, which <sup>contradict</sup> either contradict reality or are even <sup>in</sup> themselves, but which are intentionally thus formed in order to overcome difficulties of thought by this

artificial deviation and reach the goal of thought by roundabout ways and by-paths. These artificial thought-constructs are called Scientific Fictions, and distinguished as conscious creation by their 'As If' character.

"The 'As If' world, which is formed in this manner, the world of the 'unreal'; just as important as the world of the so-called real or actual (in the ordinary sense of the ~~word~~ word); indeed, it is far more important for ethics and aesthetics. This aesthetic and ethical world of 'As If', the world of the unreal, becomes finally for us a world of values which, particularly in the form of religion, must be sharply distinguished in our mind from the world of becoming.



p. 2. "The mind" in the course of its growth creates its organs of its own accord in virtue of its adaptable constitution, but only when stimulated from without, and adapts them to external circumstances. Such organs, created by the psyche for itself in response to external stimuli, are, for example, forms of perception and thought, and certain concepts and other logical constructs.

p. 15 "The object of the world of ideas as a whole is not the portrayal of reality - this would be an utterly impossible task - but rather to provide us with an instrument for finding our way about more easily in this world."

Various kinds of fiction

1. Artificial classification (e.g. botanized)

2. Abstractive (negative) fiction. E.g. Adam Smith's (economic man) in which all human actions are dictated by egoism. The "average man" of statistics.
3. Schematic, Utopian & Type fictions. Schematic drawings in mechanics & physiology. An ideal city. Goethe's plant archetype.
4. Symbolic (Analogical) Fiction.

"They are closely related to poetic images as well as to the myth. In these fictions the mechanism of thinking is as follows: A new intuition is apprehended by an ideational construct in which there is a similar relationship, an analogous proportion to that ~~pre~~ existing in the ordered series of perceptions. In such cases relationships constitute the apprehending power. This is also the formal origin of poetry. - - - 'God' is



not the 'father' of man but he is to be treated and regarded as if he were. (Schiller -  
 macher.) --- All knowledge, if it goes  
 beyond simple actual intuition and co-  
 existence, can only be analogical.

"We have here the main elements of what  
 might be called a theory of understanding and  
 comprehending. All cognition is the apprehension  
 of one thing through another. In under-  
 standing we are always dealing with an  
 analogy and we cannot imagine how  
 otherwise existence can be understood.  
 Anyone acquainted with the mechanism  
 of thought knows that all conception  
 and cognition are based upon analogical  
 apprehensions. The only ideal  
 constructs by ~~which~~ means of which  
 existing things can be apprehended are  
 either the corresponding general concep-

tion or other concrete objects. But since  
there are in their turn unconceivable, all  
these analogies give rise to an apparent  
understanding. From the mechanism of  
thought --- it now follows with absolute  
certainty exactly what Kant so labor-  
iously demonstrated in his theory of  
cognition, namely that it is utterly  
impossible to attain knowledge of the  
world, not because our thought is too  
narrowly circumscribed --- but  
because knowledge is always in the  
form of categories and there, in the  
last analysis, are only analogical  
apprehensions. --- ~~Categories are of no~~  
~~use~~

5. Juristic Fictions

6. Personifying Fictions. -- e.g. soul,  
energy, gravity, force, vital force.  
intellectual energy.



.. "Causality is an analogical fiction, and ultimately nothing but a word."

7. Seminal Fictions (general ideas)  
abstract ideas.

8. Hermitic Fictions. The idea of teleology.  
The law of conservation of energy, Newton's  
law of gravity.

9. Practical (Ethical) Fictions.  
The ideas of freedom and liberty.  
This idea of freedom involves responsibility  
& is the foundation of all criminal  
law. Idea of <sup>free will</sup> freedom is self contradictory  
yet very valuable. A fruitful error.  
Concept of duty, of immortality, of  
the moral world order, the so-  
called "ideals" of ordinary life.  
"From a logical standpoint they  
are really fictions, but in practice they  
possess tremendous value in history."

"The ideal is a practical fiction".

[The Hindu 'Tat tvast Asi' is a fiction of great practical value. So is U.V.N. a creative assumption].

o. 49.

"True morality must always rest upon a fictional basis. All the hypothetical bases, God, immortality, reward, punishment, etc. destroy its ethical character, i.e. we must act with the same seriousness and the same scruples as if the duty were imposed by God, as if we would be judged therefor, as if we would be punished for immortality. But as soon as this as if is transformed into a because, its purely ethical character vanishes and it becomes merely a matter of our lower



interest, new regions."

10. The Fundamental Fictional Concepts of Mathematics. e.g. The circle is regarded as an ellipse, the distance between of whose foci is zero. When the curve is unbounded under the tangent line, it is thought of as made up of an infinite number of tangent lines."

The concept of empty time is an abstract fiction. A limit is a fiction, assumption. Zeno's contradictions come out of the failure to recognize there is fiction. Empty space is a pure mathematical fiction. So are atoms. The concept of space is full of contradictions.

11. Abstract Generalization  
 12. The method of unjustified transference  
 13. Concept of Infinity (very contradictory)

14. Matter and the Sensory World of Ideas.

p. 65. "It is because our conceptual world is itself a product of the real world that it cannot be a reflection of reality. On the other hand, it can serve as an instrument within reality, by means of which the higher organisms move about. It is a symbol by means of which we orientate ourselves; and it is in the interests of science to make this symbol more and more adequate and utilisable, but a symbol it will always remain. . . . ~~There is~~ . . . the actual purpose of thought is not thought itself and its products, but behaviour, and ultimately ethical behaviour.

15. The Atomism of Fiction.

## 16. Fictions in Mechanics and Mathematical Physics.

p. 73. "All mathematics, indeed, is only a device, which tells us nothing about what actually exists. It is not an end in itself, but its main purpose is to be a method and an aid. Mathematics itself is really the most vigorous method for determining reality and assists in the development of that scale of measurement to which we refer the whole world - space and motion in space. That the idea of motion is itself a fiction was already evident from the contradictions discovered by the Electrics; and these contradictions are still as far from a solution that they confront us with the same assumptions <sup>as in</sup> ~~at~~ ancient times.



Motion is only an 'idealized' construct,  
an idea, by means of which we attempt  
to bring objective changes (which in the  
last analysis are only given as sensory  
modifications) into an ordered system.  
That this system of motion is given  
together with all its intermediary  
concepts is only a fictional conceptual  
construct follows both from the  
contradictions in the concept of motion  
in space and from those in the  
concept of space, upon which it is  
based. We are dealing here with  
a slowly woven net, a fine tissue of  
subjective and fictional concepts in  
which we envelop reality."

p. 83. "Most of the phrases used in  
said sentences are fictions. They  
may be formal, and useful but they

make such intercourse easier.

88. ~~There~~ -- "the fiction is a mere auxiliary construct, a circuitous approach, a scaffolding afterwards to be ~~abolished~~ demolished, while the hypothesis looks forward to being definitely established. --- The hypothesis tries to discover, the fiction to invent, --- To the verification of the hypothesis corresponds the justification of the fiction. If the former must be confirmed by experience, the latter must be justified by the same its render, & the same of experience.

89. "What A. Lange says of hypotheses holds, mutatis mutandis, also of fictions: 'The wise man is not he who avoids hypotheses, but he who asserts the

most probable, and who knows best  
how to estimate the degree of their  
probability.' If we substitute here  
fictions for hypotheses, and expect-  
ancy for probability, this holds  
absolutely for fiction.

p. 65. .... "This shows the very prejud-  
ice which still dominates philosophy  
today, namely, that because a  
concept is logically contradictory, it is  
for that reason of no value. For  
precisely the contrary is true, and  
these contradictory concepts are the  
most valuable. Many of the funda-  
mental ideas with which science  
operates are fictions, and the problem  
is not how to do away with these  
contradictions - that would be a  
futile undertaking - but to show



that they are of utility and advantage to thought. It is wrong to imagine that only what is logically non-contradictory is logically fruitful. Such an attitude — since so many of the fundamental concepts of science are contradictory — if consistently adhered to would bring us to the conclusion of Heggers of Hillebrand, that all science is valueless. Our position must be sharply distinguished from this. . . .

---

Quote from article by Kenneth Sanders on "What is the Modern Mind" in The Saturday Review for Aug 22, 1931.

"The mystic has massive vindication" (Wm James), "There was only one Christ and he was crucified (Hutcheson) /

Adler the psychologist said 'Not environment -  
must we heredity, but the ideal that he  
sets before himself, this is really what  
determines a man's life'.

---

Sept 25. + Rogers' objection to Indian  
movement as a one man affair is only  
partly valid. It is an original &  
really new movement & ∴ must  
originate in one man. All great  
truth, to be compelling, must first be  
impersonated. Cf. X, Martin Luther,  
It is indeed apocryphal.

---

If the pound drops enough, Br.  
cotton mills will be able to  
recoup much of their revenue  
drawn & ∴ the Indian pressure  
on them will be relieved by

substitute outlets. This will lighten  
Mandates' fight vs. gold. It will  
hurt Japan & its influence in China  
will increase. Perhaps next need-  
essence of Japan in China was  
because she thinks Br. is growing  
weaker.

---

I do not think that American  
bankers dictated to England. If  
England had really been broke she  
would have nationalized all her foreign  
investments as she did during the  
war. Instead, she asked loans of  
US & France thus involving them  
in efforts to help her afterwards.  
~~Br. inability~~ American bankers are still  
fettered <sup>in connection with</sup> Br. inability & so the  
latter still have the upper hand.  
Morgan has an stake in England & Skellon needs his  
vote to Oxford.



The recent changes in Br. politics were  
not instigated by U.S. bankers but  
by Br. bankers who used America  
partly as a smoke screen to hide  
themselves & divert the wrath of  
Mr. Calver, & partly to save Br.  
pride in having to go off the pound.  
& to flatter U.S. bankers. Also helped Jim Adams on  
The Br. show insufficient signs of  
U.S. & Fr. instead of on Br. bankers who loaned too much at  
high rates after having got low rates from U.S. & Fr.  
~~broken banks.~~

---

Rogers' letter shows attitude of  
superiority to Gandhi & Indians. They  
know no economics he thinks, & he  
thinks Malwings the worst of them  
all! He shows much prejudice.  
He makes same mistake as the British  
& Indian intellectuals, i.e. not knowing  
the diff between the simplicity of  
wisdom & that of inexperience. He

has been taken in by the Br. propaganda of  
 the B.S. bankers controlling Br. govt. move.  
 He still talks about Gandhi's bad record!  
 Who has not a bad record? <sup>Rogers met 2 Howard</sup> Gandhi  
~~achievement~~ ~~shows~~. Anyone who grows  
 has a bad past record. Every human  
 being makes mistakes & is inconsistent.  
 Rogers will be sore because Gandhi  
 went into his revolution <sup>of c to Hays</sup>.  
 Considering the extent of Gandhi's  
 accomplishment, Rogers' attitude of  
 superiority toward him does not  
 redound to the credit of Rogers.  
 Rogers shows himself very much of  
 a doctrinaire intellectual. Send  
 Rogers copy of Nehru's letter. Rogers  
 wants to ~~play~~ U.S. to play a big part  
 in the struggle. Recognizes that it is  
 spoiled but ~~she~~ does not see any

To feel that movement was too little principle & too much  
 that is why I tried to explain his principle in "E of K." "S. of K."

but mind & economic side, J.C. does  
not realize that it means downfall of  
white race. If ~~he~~ <sup>it</sup> does, then  
his feeling of superiority toward J will  
get <sup>stage by telling as if J was a</sup> a bump  
J is <sup>not helping Indian cause, for that is</sup> just what he wants us to believe.

Sept 40. If G. B. has <sup>general</sup> an election now  
the Tories will win. ~~Such~~ the  
decision to have such an election means  
they consider financial questions &  
fighting labor is more important  
than Indian unrest. They probably  
having met Gandhi, think he  
is a little impetuous & that there  
is now so much division in India  
that another struggle can be  
fought successfully. They will  
try to make Bapu look foolish  
before the world. But as we



as struggle commences India will show  
unopposed unity. The election of Tories will  
stiffen ~~Indian resistance~~ all Indian  
moderates as well as Congress as of Br.

1. Presents will come in strong & there will  
be a social revolution. Then when G. Br.  
comes, the Tories will go down hard &  
Sulzons come up in G.B. Br. finance is  
stronger than Br. commerce & Br. finance  
wants a fight in India. "Those whom the  
gods would destroy, they first make mad".  
Their success with the comp over the pound  
will make the Tories weakling.

If Vedanta idea is right then I must  
work hard & constantly and always selflessly  
& always look for God in everyone & treat everyone  
as if so.

1. revision of my pamphlet - 9 & 5  
in the following

- ✓ 1. I must say that as a point use of R.
- ✓ 2. Change reference to dollar bill
- ✓ 3. Call him Mr. Gandlin throughout
- ✓ 4. That all intellectuals incline to partial  
materialism
- ✓ 5. That these 4 values could propagate  
because they settle who you are  
willing to listen to & believe.
- ✓ 6. Alter reference to my books
- ✓ 7. I want a sample of village scale life  
in the values of R.
- ✓ 8. If Socialism is a party for workers, those who  
profess it ought all to do manual work,  
both as a goal & to get their attitude uniform  
understanding, so as all to have a common experience.
- 9. Cut out reference to Mouley
- ✓ 10. Gandlinism provides work for women in homes to  
build new order; Socialism does not.
- ✓ 11. Only way to work for Socialism is to talk or go to meetings  
and listen. Not as Mr. Gandlin.
- ✓ 12. Socialism too rigid & mechanical.

Revision of NVR book, in introduction is  
 "intellectually respectable" ~~and~~ morally.  
 Gandhi said truth (N.Y. Times Sept 21, 1931)

"It takes a fairly strenuous course of training to  
 attain a mental state of non-violence. It is a  
 disciplined life, like the life of a soldier. The  
 perfect state is reached only when the mind,  
 body and speech are in proper coordination.

---

The Indian situation is of far greater  
 importance to G.B. & the world than is the  
 devaluation of the pound sterling & suspension of  
 gold standard.

---

Living truth (i.e. in a personality) is more  
 important & moving than principles. Also  
 more interesting to people & more quickly  
 understood. ∴ My talking should be  
 mostly about Gandhi as a person. The



He will attack him & so it is important to prepare us that attack. Just now they are not worried greatly by him as they underestimate him. They do not understand him.

---

British may have got hints to come to England now is to advise them how to handle Gandhi. He will be subtle but not a match for Bapu.

The fact that Indian govt has introduced legislation to increase all taxes in India makes it easy & probable to start the struggle again for purely economic reasons. This works off the clever work of Britain in raising the minorities problem is strongly at R.T.I. The failure of several Indian banks will

increase the revenue of Indian men of  
wealth, & they will be all the more  
wager to join Congress efforts as  
G. 103.

## Characteristics of Gandhi.

1. Religion & faith in God
2. Action - <sup>instinctive</sup> ~~instinctive~~ <sup>turn thought</sup> ~~instinctive~~ <sup>into action</sup>
3. ~~Courage~~ <sup>Energy</sup>
4. Courage
5. Iron will & determination
6. Mind, swift, clear, incisive, direct, essential.
7. Gentle kindness - alms, care of sick, ~~love of children~~
8. Love of children
9. Unfailing courtesy & <sup>sweetness</sup>
10. Unselfishness
11. Humor, - gay yet <sup>serious</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>in touch with himself</sup>
12. Humility - <sup>in touch with himself</sup>
13. Sense of proportion
14. Belief in value of manual work, <sup>putting vegetables, spinning, domestic duties</sup>
15. Devotion to the poor
16. Love of all men, friendliness, approachability
17. Attention to & grasp of detail
18. Insistence upon cleanliness & sanitation
19. Self-reliance
20. Firmness
21. Pity for suffering
22. Patience
23. Persistence
24. Insistence upon truth
25. Foresight
26. Insight into people's hearts
27. Political ability
28. Sense of what is practical
29. Statesmanship
30. Ability, by example & love, to persuade others to follow him
31. Simplicity
32. Generosity
33. Freedom from anger & hate



Appearance

34. Serenity
35. Detachment
36. Self-discipline
37. Action in Greek sense.
38. Rigorous experimenter  
beginning always on himself.
39. Interest in diet
40. Clear cogent style.

Height, weight,  
physical vigor (walk),  
depth of chest, skin, eyes,  
lines around mouth  
flashing smile, teeth,  
ears, cautious of stumbling  
Interest. Speaks always precisely  
on sitting down.

His simplicity is that of the wise man who recognizes that life is a living process & that if the ~~few~~ essentials are made right and their implications rigorously lived through, the details automatically grow into place without prior planning. He concentrates on the essentials. Morality is put ahead of machinery; moral beauty ahead of material beauty. G. p. 96.

Corrections in N.V.R. book

p. 258. It is uncomfortable and there's  
some disorder from lack of discipline,  
but it is relatively small.

p. 50 (2) C. 6 ✓

p. 81. Soul Power.

Correct p. 51 with discussion of  
suffering in phil stages pp 288, 291, 320.

Correct 205, 227, 236 ✓

p. 23 ✓ must ~~be~~ reference to practice of  
Jews. also must reference to  
C.F.A., "Mahatma J at Work"

✓ p. 27. Remember Indian criticism of  
this passage.

---

The force & energy & initiative needed to  
work for people on a new age might well be  
tested by its ability<sup>1</sup> to take precedence over

family ties. ∴ Gandhi expects Mahatmabhai from all these closest followers of his of the Ashram. Gandhi does not praise his close followers because he wants them to carry on on their own initiative after he is gone or in other parts of the country.

If it is a man to have more than I need, then I must take whatever else comes without attachment & without desire for fruit & chiefly in humble spirit.

~~By relating of~~

The ratio of number of unemployed to the number of machines, and to the amount of power used, traced over a period of years would tend to show perhaps whether machines cause unemployment. Perhaps ratio of number of employed to the other two would indicate something. But perhaps the ratio of



the capital in machinery & plant to the number of employed, or to the number of unemployed, over a long period of years, would show whether the cost of overhead is the more important source of unemployment.

~~I can lecture~~

Possible lecture topics: -

1. Gandhiji's Personality
  2. Gandhiji's Economics (Gandhiji as a great industrial engineer)
  3. The Psychology of Gandhiji's N.V.R.
  4. The Indian Nationalist Demands.
  5. An Adventure in Culture Contacts
  6. Is India fit to govern herself?
  7. Gandhiji and Civil Disobedience (Gandhiji the world's greatest teacher)
  8. Readings from Gandhiji
  9. Some chapters of my book.
- For a person ~~to~~ who has abilities to

give away all his earnings to some worthy cause & then camp down on friends for support, is a form of violence, -

10. Don't do this or that  
11. Some broader political aspect of  
12. An Indian problem - I don't like it!

compelling them to give to charity, compelling  
 them to recognize human unity. Such com-  
 pulsion arouses resentment, not understanding  
 & sympathy.

Re NVA book, last chap, says that  
 young people want romance but they  
 haven't enough courage to go out &  
 make their own single handed. ~~that~~  
 They think they must all herd together, &  
 then they can go, as in war. Most of the  
 kind of people who say they are not reform-  
 ers will nevertheless go to war, and what  
 could be more of an attempt at reform?

Gandhi's talk on voluntary poverty fits  
 in with my theory of trust.



new messiah." Yesterday Mr. Krishnamurti, who has renounced the claims which Mrs. Besant made for him, said that Mrs. Besant and his father believed that because of his mystic leanings and early mental development he was the "voice of the Great Teacher."

Now, he said, he disagrees with the theosophist teachings, because he feels that "you cannot organize a system of truth"; that there is, in fact, no such thing as truth except where man finds it within himself.

**WHY WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE.**  
By Donald A. Laird. 166 pp. New York: The Mohawk Press. \$2.

**N**O longer will it be intelligent or amusing, if one wants to be up to date, after announcing "I do not like you, Dr. Fell," to say "The reason why I cannot tell." For experimental psychologists are digging into the reasons why you do not like Dr. Fell, and also into the reasons why Dr. Fell does not like you. And, of course, these two factors, the incoming and the outgoing likes and dislikes, condition a large part of one's personality. As a consulting psychologist and as director of the Colgate University psychological laboratory, Dr. Donald A. Laird has been making experimental investigation of these matters and practical trial of his findings extensive enough to enable him to speak with authority about the results. His book is dedicated "to the 7,000 men and women who sought guidance and insight through the personal advisory service," so that here alone was a considerable body of proof. These, however, seem to have been those who sought his services as a consulting psychologist and who therefore profited by his investigations rather than served as material for them.

The experimental study seems to have been carried on largely in the psychological laboratory of Colgate University. There it took the form of measuring the relative significance of nearly one hundred traits and habits in their effect on personal likes and dislikes. "It produced evidence," says Dr. Laird, "that some forty-six traits are of definite importance in determining the emotional attitude of other people toward us." He sets down, with some explanation and discussion for each one, nine of the traits most important for producing approval

and liking in other people. They are: that you can be depended on to do what you say you will; will go out of your way to help others; do not show off your knowledge; nor let yourself feel or seem to feel superior to your associates; do not reprimand people; do not exaggerate in your statements; do not make fun of others behind their backs; do not be sarcastic; nor domineering.

The author lists a good many others of less importance and afterward he discusses basic types of personality, emotional differences in sex, underlying personality causes of unhappy marriages, the things which make us angry or afraid, personality and leadership, the changing and training of personality. Statement and discussion are practical and untechnical and are based wholly on the results of experimental investigation. Most people ought to find the book very useful and helpful.

#### Gandhi Puts Peace Up to U. S.

New York, Oct. 19 (A.P.)—Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald, says: "My message to American Christians on world peace and disarmament is that peace and disarmament are not a matter of reciprocity. When real peace and disarmament come they will be initiated by a strong nation like America—irrespective of the consent and co-operation of other nations. An individual or nation must have faith in one's self and in the protective power of God to find peace in the midst of strife."

## GANDHI URGES WORLD TO TRY NON-VIOLENCE

*Says India's Application of the Highest of Laws Points Way to Solving All Problems.*

By MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

LONDON, Sept. 20 (P).—Consciously or unconsciously, we are acting non-violently toward one another in every-day life. All well-constructed societies are based upon the law of non-violence.

I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction. Therefore there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law would well-ordered society be intelligible and life worth living.

If that is the law of life, we must work it out in daily existence. Wherever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love. I have found that the law of love has answered in my own life, as the law of destruction has never done.

In India we have had an ocular demonstration of the operation of this law on the widest scale possible. I don't claim that non-violence necessarily has penetrated the 360,000,000 people in India, but I do claim it has penetrated deeper than any other doctrine in an incredibly short time.

It takes a fairly strenuous course of training to attain a mental state of non-violence. It is a disciplined life, like the life of a soldier. The perfect state is reached only when the mind, body and speech are in proper coordination. Every problem would lend itself to solution if we determined to make the law of truth and non-violence the law of life.

To me, truth and non-violence are faces of the same coin. Whether mankind will consciously follow the law of love I do not know, but that need not perturb us. That law will work just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or not. Just as a scientist will work wonders out of various applications of the laws of nature, a man who applies the laws of love with scientific precision can work greater wonders.

For non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than forces of nature like, for instance, electricity. The man who gave us the law of love was a far greater scientist than any of our modern scientists. The more I work out the law of love, the more I feel delighted with life and the scheme of this universe. It gives me a peace and a meaning of the mysteries of nature that I have no power to describe.



Financial idea (the American religion)  
forbid selling below cost. But such sales may  
produce considerable real rent.

---

~~Reynolds~~

Reynolds, moderate socialism in  
England has "been so far content with  
redistributing the taxable income of the  
rich". He also says, "economy can  
have no other purpose or meaning except to  
release resources". If justice means in  
reality creating sources of rent.

---

Article by Col. R. W. Hallam in Boston  
Globe of Sept 19, 1931 states that there  
is no communalism in Indian states

---

Re H. V. R. book, answer this criticism  
of H. J. L. - "There is a real danger, which

Mr. Gandhi clearly underestimates, that the  
forces which he has unleashed will go  
far beyond the boundaries he has erected  
as the ambit of their operation. In that  
position it is difficult to see what  
resources he has left save illumination  
and prayer, and of the governmental  
efficiency of these one is entitled to  
some uncertainty. This is much the  
same criticism that Shaw makes of  
war.

---

Value is another word for desire.  
We are governed by systems of values,  
∴ by our desires & their implications.  
Relation of habits to desires, because  
habitual desires are schemes of values.

It is the duty of parents to explain  
active values and <sup>their</sup> implications to  
" "



children & get them to see most for  
the most social schemes of value, & to  
see their meanings and what they  
imply in full detail, and how to acquire  
them

By upon love

this been said? "The moment of victory has come when there is no retort to the mad fury of the powerful. That moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery in India will begin to rust."

Or is anything truer than this?

"With the extension of definite forgiveness comes a mighty wave of strength in us." Or anything more "Modernist" than this? "I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority if it supports a sinful institution. I decline to be bound by any interpretation however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or to my moral sense." Or has any greater definition of religion been given than this which your speaker is proud to have received from Mahatma Gandhi in direct conversation? "The conviction that I shall always live, as truly as I live now, and that I can better my condition." To that he added "Provided I have the willingness to risk mental and physical suffering." Does his answer to Tagore "to a people famishing and unemployed, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and wages and food" sound pertinent right now?

#### New Nations

Gandhi is the greatest of today's makers of new nations, because, alone among them he builds upon a policy to be good for them and for those in their mercy after they have attained social, political and economic equality with Great Powers. He is the greatest because unlike the others, he would sacrifice his nation's hope of independence rather than commit one act of violence or chicanery to attain it. Gandhi will outlive both India and Great Britain as Jesus of Nazareth outlived both Judea and Rome. To close, may I quote the concluding sentence of my book of lives of Eminent Asians?

"Gandhi is the world's unique leader, its modern prophet of the ancient gospel of love whose spiritual decent is through the Buddha, Mo Ti the Chinese, Jesus of Nazareth, St. Francis of Assisi and Tolstoy. Such men outlive the antipathies they arouse, and last longer than their immediate causes, becoming a factor bearing upon every cause that stirs humanity after them."



If I do lecturing on India I ought to  
write out all my lectures; keep up to date  
with news; have N send me Indian paper as  
they come; make list of books on India - both  
ways; prepare story about myself for lecture  
series. write Holmes, Page & Roger. Perhaps get  
a book on public speaking & one on psychology of  
Take folding typewriter. For it read several  
leadership. new books & Arnold's "Culture & Anarchy"

---

~~For the~~

For reading from Gandhi, select  
perhaps his letter to the Viceroy (1921), his  
talk on voluntary poverty, some of his evidence  
before Hunter Com, his editorial on the  
great festival, his trial,

---

Reading novels and adventure stories  
is largely vicarious & ∴ easy living &  
escape from reality. It may be dangerous to

spend too much time at this way of enlarging the imagination & sympathies.

---

Oct 13. I suspect that Gandhi took Mahatma to London in order to prove to him, & to his followers, that the British professions are idle words.

---

People in some breath call for decreased taxes and enlargement of duties of govt & ~~some~~ extension of international organizations. However. Right mutual attitudes are not expensive & do not require organization.

---

If currency & credit are to be a commodity (as the theory & practice of fin. interest assumes), then of course money will fluctuate in value as all commodities do, & it ceases to be a fair and reasonable measure of value or <sup>equivalent</sup> medium of exchange.

## Possible Section Topics

1. Gandhi's Personality
2. Gandhi's Economics
3. The Psychology of M.V.R.
4. The Strategy of M.V.R.
5. An Adventure in Culture Contacts in India
6. Readings from Gandhi
7. Doubts & Issues about Indian Problem
8. Hygiene <sup>Aspects</sup> of M.V.R.
9. class Warfare & M.V.R.
10. The Indian Nationalist Demands.
11. Is India Fit to Govern Herself?
12. Some larger Political <sup>Implications</sup> aspects of Gandhism.
13. Are the British mistaken about India & Gandhi?



The trick of the Mr. T ones to gain an election  
 & get their policies into effect will cause much  
 class strife & division & bitterness in G.B. So  
 later when T ones try the strong land in India,  
 they will be strongly opposed by Mr. Salmons &  
 friends. That will affect Mr. morale. Also their  
 tariff will make sentiment in Mr. abroad  
 & i. depend G.B. of foreign support vs India.  
 Also U.S. financiers will ~~take action~~ <sup>like</sup> refer to  
 have Mr. weakened in India & will take a  
 chance on losing Philippines as a possible  
 later result. So they will not support Mr.  
 too heavily.

---

Hawthorne Ellis says, "Virtue is an adorn-  
 ment."

---

Critics of W.V.R. say which shows up of  
 war, - that it is effective but releases

uncontrollable forces of disorder. But it cannot be kept up unless it is real & VR, & if it is real it creates new order & releases love, which is not planning, divisive & destructive as hate is. The disorder in this case is only the rearrangement preceding a better order.

---

Gandhi's ec. program is not merely one of limitation of machinery. That is temporary, while an efficient social control is being established. He utilizes the power that machinery gives, and waits the control established before the mechanization. Problem is like that of Russia, but the control is to be established by VR instead of by violence.

---

The change of Rs. policy in India when

India come into power will seem to India & to the world as a violation of Mr. assurances, - implicit & vague but nevertheless assurances. Further struggle in India will be upheld by world opinion & there will be greater unity in India. The discipline of the time has been strengthening.

---

Churchill is spokesman of ~~collaboration~~ spirit of those impatient, unposed, unpremeditated, self-driven groups of Indian politicians. <sup>C. 15</sup> The leaders who took away King John's power & established Magna Carta.

---

The inability of the leaders & financial officers in India to turn the depression around them from their pedestal in minds of Indians. It does not move their imagination but it ends their godlike superiority & privilege.



Re the V.R. book in Chap on J's mon-  
-steries, explain his demand that  
Indians be allowed to carry arms.

Mention fact that Adam is a school for  
discipline in China. Does V.R. call  
forth radium of the story?

---

A parent cannot train his child  
for responsibility if his chief motive is  
exploitation of the child, and that is to  
say, if he does not respect the personality of  
the child. The same is true of  
relations between imperial powers &  
their dependent peoples. ∴ It is silly  
for England ~~to demand~~ to talk of  
"training Indians for responsibility" or for  
Americans to talk similarly of Philippines  
as Hygoning.

✓ <sup>100</sup> Elliott thinks the Haystack is not truly on-  
 volent. Economic pressure is a mode of force.  
~~But~~ It injures the boycotted party. But  
 giving whether this does not assume a <sup>real</sup> virtue  
 in commerce, that is is non-potent.

Elliott criticizes a V.R. book.

Take Chinese history as example of V.R. of B. Russell  
 a studied Chinese history.

1. whether V.R. would work when all country  
 breaks down; whether it does not demand a min-  
 imum of social order. But that is quite impossible.

✓ p. 51. Don't say "the order". Say you.

✓ p. 54. 2. v. Watson on conditioned reflex. Is  
 it more than a conditioned reflex, - it  
 involves much conscious discipline.

V.R. is again not only as a technique  
 for defeating opponent, but as an end in  
 itself, because it obeys Kantian principle of

expecting the dignity of every person's moral  
integrity. It is morally legitimate &  
desirable. It is force but moral force  
imposes itself only on those who accept  
it or accept moral assumptions. (3)  
that not also true in part of economic  
force!

> some <sup>psychological</sup> question is necessary in morality.  
It moves the process until a new  
channel is cut out. about p 74.

2. whether boycott is justifiable or  
not!

Phil says are irrelevant only if not  
only a technique <sup>appealing</sup> but it is an end  
in itself <sup>and</sup> ~~a constant means~~ but only  
an end - not means to an end but a  
waying of means will end.

✓ In individual case says, it footnote  
do not use phrase "I" but the word



✓ <sup>colleg</sup> Malick and the W.V.R. - the right  
 way to solve conflict between all con-  
 flicts both parties are partly wrong (as  
 well as partly right). 24 Russell Sq, London WC.

Try Fisher & Fisher (~~Fisher & Fisher~~) in  
 England Mrs. Frank V. Morley  
 mention Prof W. G. Elliott

H. Hupfen & Co, <sup>H. Hupfen</sup> <sup>W.V.R., etc</sup>  
 sci-art (Cambridge), <sup>the</sup> Psychology &  
 Ethics,

✓ Elliott advises dropping out Gandhi  
 name in title.

Press in mind the interest women  
 take in Gandhi & the part women play in  
 American opinion. Women get much  
 of their understanding through personalities.  
 ∴ <sup>Try</sup> an article on Gandhi for Women

Home Consumption, Indian Home goods.

whether or not in a free India the  
Indians would accomplish all they hope for  
or not, or whether Indian industrialists  
would ~~heavily~~ exploit Indian labor more  
heavily than Dr. does is none of the business  
of Dr. or America. Only put forward as an  
attempt to justify Dr. rule.

just as Germany, <sup>around of</sup> Schrecklichkeit before  
~~the~~ during the war provided the  
arena for a moral revolution of world  
opinion against her, so Dr.  
does in India, as the prohibition  
is, will cause ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> similar revolution  
against England. Britain is going  
to be compelled to choose between  
material wealth and spiritual wealth,

and I fear that the habits of 200 years of imperialism and the fact that it is the old men who are in the saddle will determine that choice.

---

When A. read Gandhi's talk on voluntary poverty the reaction was, "but there must be somebody to make money & wealth to supply him". Yes, there are differences in occupation. Every man cannot make and do all things. This voluntary poverty is a job for those who would help most. The mere fact that some find such a way desirable, a true expression of their nature, is, however, not an argument for playing safe, for wanting to be among those who have money. Pioneering is perhaps more useful these days.

---



Boyer always respects the personality  
of his opponent & appeals to its best,  
Boyer sets moral beauty above all  
others, & is the source of all others.  
of p. 74.

---

Rebate my idea of values as  
political controls to the ideas of  
anarchism. May it not be that  
the necessary <sup>of values</sup> unity for long time  
politics can only come in small units;  
or just it rather that ~~these~~ trust  
values are individual & there can be  
much compromised for sake of group  
life only if the group is small & ∴  
the compromises relatively few? Or  
is it because respect values are  
revealed only under that type of  
life. Of fact that all religions

have arisen from countries under those conditions

---

Benefits from the second R.T.C.  
despite its failure to solve the demands of  
the Congress and provide a workable joint.  
<sub>to world opinion</sub>

✓ 1. It has proved that Gandhi is not a  
firebrand, that he is tactful, patient,  
skilful in debate and negotiation, gentle,  
firm as a rock, incorruptible, honest,  
frank, kind, considerate, courageous,  
quick minded, has great grasp of detail  
as well as of the broader and deeper prin-  
ciples of the problem, that he is a great  
leader of men, a great statesman and  
politician.

✓ 2. It has proved that the Indian Congress  
has <sup>power</sup> patience and discipline, and confidence  
in its chosen representatives, thereby showing its  
preparation to assume responsibility.

3. It has proven that the other Indian delegates and the British, too, regard Gandhi and the Congress as the most powerful <sup>single</sup> political force in the situation.
4. Indian Moderates may no longer say to the Congress, "If we had only all gone together to London, Britain would not refuse our demands." ∴ Moderates will have greater difficulty in refusing to act with Congress, & will be more disillusioned about Britain.
5. The shrewder people can see how Britain is relying on reactionary forces & taking advantage of divisions in India & ∴ that her power is not so very secure, & her underlying talk gets thinner.
6. The world sees that India is more united and more effective politically than the previous years of British



~~statements~~ had led them to believe, ~~and also~~

7. The world sees that Br. judgment about Gandhi and the ~~the~~ forces in India have been considerably mistaken, especially in the past 2 yrs.
8. Britain has been unable to manoeuvre the Congress into seeming to be intransigent, violent, hasty, impatient, unwilling to negotiate, weak, vacillating, impractical, lacking in skill or in foresightedness or statesmanship, - <sup>none of the things that the Br. have heretofore asserted about Congressmen.</sup>
9. It appears to the world that in Gandhi British politicians have met their equal in <sup>political</sup> skill and their superior in honesty, frankness and adherence to high ideals.
10. The Muslims have seemed obstinate, narrow, <sup>generosity and</sup> and lacking in Indian patriotism. The

Princes have remained ~~both weak & reactionary~~ weak compared with the Congress, and clearly relying on Br. power rather than their own strength.

11. Britain's claims to be protector of the poor have not held water.
12. If Congress now enters the struggle, world opinion will not blame them but will watch the fight with interest in those, shrewd and high principled men attempting to win their freedom.
13. Gandhi's contact with British workers has won the hearts of many of them.
14. British & world prejudice against Gandhi and the Congress is less than before his visit. <sup>The world now respects Gandhi & the Congress, more than it did before.</sup>
15. It is now valued that the slight attention given in the Simon Report to the Congress & <sup>Gandhi & the</sup> Nationalist forces was

a mistake, & ∴ less confidence can be  
reposed in Sir John Simon & his  
Commission.

~~15. It is clear that Br. opinion about  
Gandhi & the form in India has been  
deeply wrong, especially in the  
last 2 years. Yet they do not know  
how to correct their assumptions &  
sources of information.~~

16. Hereafter the world will accept  
Br. assertions about India and  
Indians with some doubts and  
reservations.

17. The class lines drawn in Br. elections &  
resulting therefrom will prove a  
divisive factor in Br. morale when  
the struggle starts again.

18. British M.P.'s and men of many kinds  
expect Gandhi & the Congress much more than  
they did before.



19. Br. can no longer refer contemptuously to the Congress as a <sup>negligible</sup> handful of intellectuals & lawyers. It is clear that irrespective of alleged numbers, they have more effective political power than any other group in India. The fact that Br. finds it necessary to oppose us then so many other forces prove this, - <sup>combined</sup> Prince, Muslims, ~~and~~ officially chosen ~~of~~ nominees of some authorities, European community, ~~the~~ Anglo-Indians, etc. - also so many "influential".

20. Has shown that Indians are willing to listen to proposals of Br. even when they can see no possible chance of solution in it.

21. Gandhi & the Congress have proved to be reliable, - they have carried out their side of the agreement. Thus more fit for self govt than would have thought.

22. British forecasts must have been proved wrong.

Because the means & end are intended  
 N.V.R. is an end in itself as well as a  
 method or tactic; it should be what Tagore calls  
 a creed as well as a temporary policy. It is  
 always the best method of persuasion & advance  
 & solution of conflict & ∴ permanently valuable &  
 necessary in <sup>for</sup> itself.

---

Nov. 4, 1951. The Brs. are telling that human  
 nature in India will not improve, that divisions  
 will stay or increase, that men will not respond  
 to a noble appeal. That is a mistake always.

The Brs make the mistake of having hand picked  
 delegates at R.T.C., then intimating with them  
 till they quarrel amongst controllers, & then  
 thinking that that represents the true state  
 of India. In reality the unity of India  
 this time will be greater than ever before.  
 The N.V.F. leaders will offer as it

hands of govt as to deprive standard life  
& the other prospects of most of them  
following.

In article in Ed N.Y. Times out at  
about the fact that interest can be kept  
only after respect is aroused. The Br.  
Times have lost their heads. They are tending  
to follow Churchill in India because  
Churchill has a more clear cut <sup>& simpler</sup> policy than  
Stewart & Wilson.

---

Advanced math considers direction  
(vectors). May that also be introduced  
into money symbolism, with idea of social  
use (direction) & individual use (direction)?

---

Since values (prices) govern men,  
both individually and en masse, this  
proves that the govt of the nation



depends on the development of individual characters. In education there should be consideration & discussion about different schemes of values.

---

For Kaka get Howard's book on Indian  
culture, and books on red collection

---

Radicals assume that because they are a  
thing then everything does. They overlook  
the losses & splint of conservation.

---

Truth at its highest and profoundest is  
always living.  $\therefore$  People are right in being  
more interested in persons than in principles.  
Principles are a rationalization, addressed not  
to the whole being but only to the mind.  
Books are not as important as people

"Mathematics is a concomitant of civilization". Civilization is a set of various relationships with qualitative & quantitative.

---

Indian rats have been at Pestun, Sholapur, Chittagong, Mysore, Bangalore, Benares, & Baranwadi,

---

Fredrick Paulham. - "If others have pleasures that you lack, rejoice. What matters is not that you are happy, but that there is happiness somewhere. Rejoice if you love a woman and she loves another who loves her in return. What matters is that there should be love and not that you should be loved. Rejoice, too, if somebody else performs a fine piece of work that you wanted to do. The essential

thing is that it should be done. . . .

The obligations of gratitude, like all approved obligations, are a low form of morality.

That gratitude does not consist in loving a person who does us a service and in doing him a service in return. Gratitude con-

sists in profiting by the service that has been done so that we can act as

well as possible toward the man who

did us the favor and toward all men,

toward the whole of humankind and not

only toward the individual to whom we

are grateful. He has no right to anything

more.

Re X's command to pray by thinking  
 God that the desired event has already  
 happened, this implies the idea of two-  
 way time, that there is no mental difference



from the point of view of eternity (the  
eternal now) between the results or  
implications of an event and the  
(necessary) preliminaries or preparations or  
preceding stages. So one can say that  
we may work at the preceding  
stage just as if they were implications  
of a results of the event. Both require  
intense collaboration. To say that only  
eternity, or as if in  
eternity

---

It is (here) not only requiring  
freedom by N.V.R., but is establishing  
N.V.R. as a practical method by  
attaining freedom through its use.

---

"Doing a thing while knowing  
it is impossible is religion" Prof  
Yuan Chang

If I get some money I want to buy  
 the Indian book on species & issues; also  
 "This New Age Civilization" by Ralph Borsodi  
 (the 4th man)  
 Have G.D. Bond. Submits to several Indian paper  
 also the two Southern Hyde books & a book & writing book & paper  
 book & books.

Perhaps Britain has to consult  
 all the Dominions on her Indian  
 policy. If that is so it slows down  
 decisions greatly. Also it means  
 a color bar or race prejudice from then  
 all. So her Indian policy cannot be  
 liberal.

If money has five functions it has  
 more meanings. It has 5 + all the  
 permutations & combinations of five.  
 $5 \cdot 4 \cdot 3 \cdot 2 \cdot 1 = 120$  possible meanings.

As a measure of values money fluctuates  
 widely. As a medium of exchange it is

often inadequate. Since it has several functions it has many (115) meanings. Hence as a symbol it is ambiguous.

---

Jacien tells me that the people who have learned that values are the inner means of govt are Goethe, Nietzsche, Emerson & possibly Walt Whitman.

---

How are new values created? It is important to know. Probably by being lived by a very vigorous intelligent person who has wide sympathies and much love for all humankind.

---

England is misjudging the Indian situation and underestimating the power of



the Congress for several reasons:-

- (1) Because the Empire & India are such large organizations, the people at the top cannot get correct reports from subordinates. 3 types of errors never are reported. This is more true in times of stress & times when the ruling group is using violence, as has been true now in India for nearly 2 years. So this factor acts more now than formerly. The subordinates are compelled to make more mistakes because of India's U.V.R.
- (2) The U.V.R. campaign has alienated more Indians from the B.R. & from pro B.R. Indians, & so the B.R. are not so apt to get correct reports. Police are more apt to fabricate tales to their own advantage.
- (3) Censorship prevents you from getting accurate reports from non-official sources.

(4) The R.T.C. delegates are all (except 2) handpicked by Br. Govt or by Br. officials in India, & ∴ puppets. But Br. facility for self-deception & unwillingness to consciously face unpleasant facts. So they have persuaded themselves that the delegates are real representatives of India & ∴ that the discord that has developed at London is truly representative of conditions in India. That would have worked in absence of a real Indian resurgence. But there is now real independence of spirit.

(5) Pride of race and of conquest. ∴ Barriers. This pride is now mingled with fear & is doubly blinding, ~~addition~~ suspicion is added to ignorance.

(6) The Br. do not understand the method of W.V.R. and underestimate its

unifying power & its effect on Br. & Indian morale.

- (7) The Br. Cabinet is all old men whose thought habits are not flexible & ∴ cannot readily adjust themselves to G's method & to changes in India.
- (8) The general world financial insecurity makes it more difficult for Br. to take any big risks of policy, to be generous as they were toward the Boers.
- (9) The overwhelming victory of the Tories lends impetus to Churchill's group. They are the only group of Tories who have a clear-cut policy & initiative toward India & a cohesive group drilled into that mode of action & thought. The absence of an effective opposition in Parliament means that MacDonald cannot put the brakes on them even if he wanted to. Probably



be put Lord Sathian in as under-  
sary for India, but that will not  
prove an effective drag. The other  
pers in H of L, will be unyielding  
& impatient with him, & the Sec of  
State for I. will have all the staff  
to help him in bludgeoning Sathian.  
The Sec. Richards will succeed in  
offending all the Indian Moderates  
mentally.

(16).

ences.  
Too often, in books of this kind, we  
cannot forget Bernard Shaw's sarcastic  
remark: "Those who can, do. Those who  
can't, teach."

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It is interesting to see that Lloyd George has gone to Ceylon. He will of course go to India & get first-hand dope & come back & use it on the Tories in order to build up his own fortunes; to rally around himself the more liberal & decent B. thought. He is right in thinking that that will be a better issue than Gorbals about which to build up a following. That will help split B. opposition to India.

---

Nov 12. It looks from latest news at Gordon that B. have got Macdonald to climb down so as to bring out Gaudlin's opposition into clearer relief & make it look as if the whole blame for R.T.C. failure rest on

Gandhi. That is true. Let it be  
clear to the world. It will mean  
to Indians that Gandhi is the  
only man strong enough to stand  
against Britain & will make Moslems  
look weak & willing to sell out to  
Br. Br. are looking toward world  
opinion as most important; G.  
knows that Indian opinion is the  
most important.

Interesting article "Indian Will  
Own City Hall" in the <sup>London</sup> ~~Sabon~~  
~~Monthly~~ "for Jan 1931."

I sent in N.Y.R. book the matter of  
✓ education of employer, noted in my  
pamphlet on values. Also the joint  
about values controlling propaganda.



Also that building up a new order requires  
 breaking of part of the old.

---

All the negotiations in London are  
 showing to India that the Moslems  
 & other minority delegates are support of  
 Britain.

---

Churches is closely connected to  
 Atomic & UVR because war & capitalist  
 industry are similar & ∴ they must be  
 opposed not only by UVR, but by  
 building up a non-exploitative economic  
 regime & a scheme of better v. values.  
~~As~~ The two are part of a whole  
 programme.

---

Not only <sup>one</sup> ~~do~~ those who accept a  
 given scheme of values at the

many of those who are most clever at using the symbols & instruments, they might say as Russians do, "we will be militaries as well as the others". But the process of learning the game transforms the psychology of those who learn the game. ∴ it is dangerous. Another instance of fallacy of means & ends.

---

Send copies of my <sup>values</sup> pamphlet to

- ✓ 1. Shankhal (for P. Singh)
- ✓ 2. U. Simla
- ✓ 3. Roger Baldwin
- ✓ 4. F. Smith
- ③ ✓ 5. Yale Review &
6. Norman Brown, F. Goodale, Holmes, Blanche, H. M. Brailsford
- ② ✓ 7. Dyer

Now Indians refuse to cooperate on Br terms, but they will cooperate in India on Indian terms.

---

Nov 22,  
1951

To say or to feel "I want X (a certain thing)" is to emphasize or create a belief that it is different & separate from me. ~~It~~ <sup>the thought</sup> ~~it~~ creates a separation. Then when we do not get it or get & lose it we feel sorrow. The separation we have created seems to come true. We relied on the validity of our impressions & they prove <sup>to be</sup> ~~are~~ valid by those tests. We thus create separation & the sorrow is only a mere by-product or symptom of our <sup>own</sup> ~~entirement~~ creation. Desire is thus derivative & causes illusion.

---

Re Ec of K. revision insert G's remarks to Bradford re machinery in March. J. W. H. G.



Re U.V.R. Asia & Africa can learn it easily & if so then Europe & America will be ~~defeated~~ defeated & humbled and shown to be backward in civilization and economically backward. Then they will begin to learn.

---

In this U.V.R. campaign it is necessary to <sup>win</sup> get more than respect for the power of its cause. Bolsheviks had that from them. Need to have moral respect and no fear.

---

Baynes' program is not bourgeois, i.e., palliative. It is radical, - more radical than Russian Communism.

Satyagraha makes employers & financiers realize the defects of money and compels them to act more wisely. Compels

a change of heart.

---

X's saying that his disciples might have to leave father & mother & brothers etc for him applies to the guardian case in my NVR book.

---

Material beauty is often a symbol for a spiritual perception of a need for moral beauty. ∴ such beauty can and is created in evil times as well as in good times.

---

"Take no thought for the morrow" fits into my theory of trust & money.

---

The selfish ones have the guns & control the symbols & organizations. As long as the masses cling to these symbols and values & violence, the financiers & rulers

can defeat them, and all is slavery. The  
Bolsheviks have succeeded only with the  
help of capitalism & Western technique.  
India, because its people are colored & it  
has a new set of values, probably cannot  
get western loans as Japan did, & will  
also get very little western technical aid  
for the same reason and also because  
she starts it a time when the West  
is backing down.

---

Moral beauty spells & is necessary to  
win before material beauty. Moral  
technique spells material technique  
& is more important.

---

Love is the only thing that will  
persuade the masters to yield, will  
end their selfishness.



The immense power of Satyagraha to melt old values & establish new ones. Love is creative & it takes strong creative power to establish new values.

---

Each man has within him all the physical elements and all the tendencies & possibilities, the good & the bad of the whole race, & of all the animal kingdom. He that controlleth himself is greater than he that controlleth a city, because in controlling himself he is controlling all the elements in the universe & all the possibilities of human powers good & bad. Also being divine he has all energy.

---

Part of the sentiment of the poor is not that the rich retain too big a share of wealth, but that they retain control &

1  
in future the rulers can recognize my  
temporary loss.

---

Re free trade, it is true that to tax  
imports is to put obstacles in the way  
of trade, and that does not encourage  
international trade. But we overlook  
the fact that industrialism, if capital-  
intensive, does not in the long run really  
encourage mutual trade. It floods  
underdeveloped areas with goods, and if a  
new device (e.g. <sup>the</sup> automobile) is  
invented, industrialism floods that  
underdeveloped area of need or desire. But  
when the underdeveloped countries develop  
and want to export their produce,  
the industry of the first producer  
rejects it & cannot stand the burden  
of its overhead expense, so it rejects

Tariff barriers. Unemployment & tariff  
 are an inseparable consequence of capitalis-  
 tic industry, perhaps indeed of machinery.  
 So we will end up with largely self-  
 contained trade areas. U.S., Russia, India,  
 China, Canada, Brazil & Argentina will  
 be the powerful nations then, perhaps.

---

The freedom of India by decreasing the  
 prestige will cut the ~~cultural~~ cultural  
 cord between Engl. & U.S., partially  
 by a largely culturally, too.

---

The 2d A.T.C. has been of more benefit  
 to India than to Gr. Br. It has  
 shown that Lord Dufferin overestimated  
 Br. good will & generosity (!?) It has  
 proved that Indians are more fit for  
 self govt than Br had alleged.



In regard to separate electorates for communities, Sir Austin Chamberlain at a meeting of the League of Nations said they were "establishing in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from the national life."

---

The Mahatma opposes separate electorates.

---

"The Waste Products of Agriculture"  
by Albert Howard & G. T. Wad,  
Oxford Univ. Press. 1931. 7s. 6d.

---

Re. only sp. labels for cotton in  
Curator of Charleston Museum,  
Charleston, S.C.; N.C. State  
Museum, "Cotton" label. Raleigh, N.C.

Whether Saffron, which was used for cotton.

Can make long cotton pieces on hand  
cords.

Indian papers — Young India, The  
People, The Hindu, Bombay Chronicle,  
Swarnaj, Janam Bhumi, Current  
Thought, Indian Social Reformer,  
The Ashtak, Modern Review, Indian  
Opinion

My eye is zero & illusion. My aim  
is infinite.

Entrepreneurs ignore unemployment. Tariffs  
are imposed to remedy the evils of machine  
production under capitalism.

"Whoever owns the hearts of the

maner of the East, over the world."

---

"Modern India" by 17 contributors  
ed. by Sir John Cunningham. 3s 6d.  
(Tang)

Gandhi & the Indian Problem  
ed. by E. J. Hart, Hutchinson,  
London, 2s.

---

The Mammote Rule. Home Press  
Suttons Dale, 1907.

---

J. E. Taylor

When a man's heart is moved deeply, he  
acts. Or at least he acts when his  
whole being, both head & heart, is convinced.

So action is the test & proof of inner  
conviction of X's, but they who say "Yes, yes, but  
they also do the will of my Father"



"Reality is best regarded as a kingdom of values, and modern thinkers are agreed in enumerating three ultimate values, each standing in its own right, and refusing to be made a means to any other - namely, Truth, Beauty and Goodness. - - - Science, for its own purposes disregards the aesthetic and the religious demands of human nature. We therefore need a philosophy which will do justice to Art and Religion as well as to Science. - - - The deepest questions are qualitative rather than quantitative, - in other words ultimate reality is spiritual."

Dean Inge. Science & Modern Life.

Sunday Morning Post Feb 18, 1924.

Reprinted Living Age Mar 29, 1924

Dusquesbury says in his new book ~~age~~ that the parallel of the unjust reward refers

to forgiving men of sins, not only their sins  
against us, but any and all sins. He  
links it up with the passage of forgiveness of  
sins in Matt. 6: 14, 15 L

He says a neighbor, the parable of the  
sheep shows that one's neighbor is he who helps us,  
in material or spiritual way.

X's saying a childless, he links with  
worship of God, a necessity for faith in  
God or in our gods, as in that of a  
child.

He says that X's rules about divorce do  
not apply to the body or to sex refer to  
different I's, to different personalities of  
man. Of his words, a divorce resulting with

his injunction to leave the wife for his (X; Luke).

He says rules may refer to mental rules or to churches. (I.e. give up churches).

In the parable of the unjust steward, Our-  
parching says the cutting down of the hills  
means representing other people as better than  
they are. Phil. of All Sts. Creation. Expectation  
all forgiveness of sins is so.

He says slander is another word for the  
Devil. To blaspheme or the Holy Ghost is to  
deny the good that is in everything & in  
every person & in every situation. Such  
denial, such adverse sweeping criticism is  
very bad. of even idle words.

He says the parable of the unjust steward  
refers to the tendency to see the Holy Ghost  
or the good even when there is little of it  
apparent. Man finds what he looks for.  
"A good man out of the treasure of the



heart bringeth forth good things; and  
an evil man out of the evil treasure  
bringeth forth evil things. yet X  
often condemns evil.

---

M. Arnold - "Culture & Anarchy"

p 70. ---- "A severity which comes from  
having made order among ideas and  
harmonised them."

---- "A state in which law is author-  
itative and sovereign, a firm and  
settled course of public order, is  
 requisite if man is to bring to maturity  
 anything precious and lasting now, or  
 to found anything precious and lasting  
 for the future."

"Thus in our eyes, the very frame-  
work and exterior order of the State,  
whenever, may administer the State, is

sacred; and culture is the most resolute  
 enemy of anarchy because of the great  
 hopes and designs for the State which  
 culture teaches us to nourish."

---

Notes of talk at Ford Hall by  
 Chinese prof of philosophy, -

### Statement by Confucius

- "at 15 (my mind was bent on) learning
- "at 30 I stood (firm)
- "at 40 I had no doubts (I was not perplexed)
- "at 50 I knew the decrees of Heaven (a fate)
- "at 60 my ear (was an) obedient (organ for reception  
 of truth).
- "at 70 I could follow my heart's desire without  
 transgressing the truth."

hanging these things.

Deorum = conduct patterns.

To learn as if not receiving & yet pass you may

love it (i.e. idea of sensitive search, knowing what I do not know).

If you do not say 'what can I do with this', you do not want it. Encouragement of self-motivation.

Standing = group of problems in man-to-man relationships.

The basis of decorum is in sincere feeling.

Feeling = form harmony or balance.

One should both mean well and act so that others will understand it so.

Decorum has the idea of a form for <sup>it is an</sup> expressing feeling <sup>act</sup>.

What Legge translates as benevolence or virtue really means in literal translation two-minded (i.e. <sup>mind</sup> <sup>mind</sup>). Legge's translation of Analects is over the whole the text into English.

Idea of judging an act by whether



would or would not like it done to me.  
Use inner standard.

This might result in timidity. So the  
man of true virtue must also have courage.  
Must carry out and do the right, the  
just, the obligatory.

It means benevolence (2-man-mindedness)  
justice (right or obligation).

Can be applied to individual & to joint  
relationships.

What are the attitudes of knowing? Intense  
and careful knowledge of where your knowledge  
stops. Thus avoidance of self-deception. No  
preconception, no must, no I. The one who  
knows flows like water (indeterminateness).

See what a man does; see why he does  
those things; see what he acts in (i.e. the  
degree of deliberation in doing them); then  
how can a man escape.

Confucius had a conception of unity, - a  
oneness that strings all together. The  
way of the mean is the essence of  
Confucian<sup>ist</sup> teaching.

A/c to Confucius, genius = uncom-  
mon commonness (i.e. universal unity  
with all). This is different from  
originality.

"The opium-mindedness of Western  
imperialism."

A/c to westerners apparently  
civilization is something they have  
which nobody else has.

---

Money is effective partly because it  
contains symbol & a value.

---

Mo Tzu controls machinery by standards,  
i.e. controls industry by agriculture.

The church worshipped the symbol in  
 place of reality. So <sup>the</sup> lost... Western civil-  
 ization is doing that with money.  
 Worshipping the graven image.

Social cohesion goes when trust &  
 confidence go. That happens when the  
 leaders fail and show their inability,  
 when symbols fail to carry energy,  
 when social, political & economic machine-  
 ry fails to function.

Bankers do not control credit really,  
 but only manipulate the fast emptying  
 symbols of credit.

The opinion of the world at London  
 will insure greater attention of world on  
 Indian events. Probably the Govt  
 bureaucracy in India are telling London  
 "you let us handle this or we will all be



sign." This together with Tory majority in India means that decent Englishmen ~~do not~~ <sup>will not</sup> murder because they cannot impose a different policy. The <sup>great</sup> Tory majority in H of C means that when <sup>in India</sup> reputation <sup>is</sup> <sup>is</sup> so bad that decent Englishmen are afraid of the result in the Empire, that voice cannot be heard in Parliament. So not only will the reputation be very dreadful, but all ~~possibilities~~ <sup>possibilities</sup> of later friendship between Engl & India will be destroyed. Br. Trade will be choked out as well as Br. political power. Also ~~the~~ Indian debt will be entirely lost to England.

new statement now 14 points out  
that in asking for settlement of commercial  
general before stating what he will do

MacD is doing what he would never ask of the Free-traders & Tariffites in his own great international party. It also says that <sup>S.V.</sup> MacD. always felt that Mac D. loves motion & drift, & that has always been his policy & he is now 60 yrs old. ~~MacD.~~

So now the Tories who have a real policy & a policy that is consistent with the implications of the whole Empire & the economic basis of it, will win over Mac D. The strength of the Tories really lies in this & ∴ they are the logical outcome & leaders of the new decade. Gandhi has forced the Empire to show itself clearly, has stripped off the pretence of the Liberals & hypocrites. He has indeed stripped all the trappings of Western civilization.

<sup>means</sup>  
The production problem may be said to

solved by machinery & science. Money problem  
solved by credit device, but the old  
commodity (namely) idea of gold &  
money persists. It is a psychological  
fixation because gold has been a symbol of  
power in all countries for 5000 years.  
It is a valid exchange value symbol.  
I stand on this commodity  
theory of money (rental for use)

---

Dec 2

Gandhi once more has the initiative

---

Re N.V.R. Humility is necessary  
because ~~the~~ N.V.R. require willingness to  
suffer ~~for~~ to all sorts of humiliations, insult,  
physical privation, jail etc. That is  
very hard for a proud person.



If India defeats <sup>the</sup> ~~capitalism~~ <sup>Y. B.</sup> ~~perhaps~~ other  
 world ~~capitalism~~ will be very hostile,  
 in the Russia. But probably not.  
 But if so India will need ~~charities~~  
 for she will have to be more self-  
 sufficing than Russia.

---

Perhaps Russia could cast off capital-  
 ism because she had a streak of  
~~satyagraha~~ <sup>People were</sup> in her nature. ~~was~~ not  
 attached to it by hatred, as in  
 Germany. I think India will  
 have a social revolution a success in it  
 before Germany. England, U.S. &  
 France.

---

In my pamphlet on "Gandhism & Socialism" I  
 have urged Indians to have confidence in their own  
 indigenous methods & modes, just as I did in  
 both my earlier books. For this reason these books  
 appeal to Indians who are striving for power expression  
 & to get rid of inferiority-complex.

Send copies of my journal & Soudan  
pamphlet to

Loan

- ✓ 1. J. H. Holmes (2) in faculty  
From Rodney
2. Brinkford ?
- ✓ 3. Norman Brown
- ✓ 4. Upton Sinclair
- ✓ 5. Alan
- ✓ 6. Carrie
- ✓ 7. A. F. B.
- ✓ 8. Funneth (H)
- ✓ 9. Blanche W.
- ✓ 10. Simba, P.H.
- ✓ 11. Wm. Y. Elliott (3) loan  
ancient
- ✓ 12. ~~Ed. Denny~~
- ✓ 13. ~~Alan~~  
Dore
- ✓ 14. Clara & Ordway
- ✓ 15. Sutt Mearns.
- ✓ 16. Visiting Indian prof. (7)
- ✓ 17. Miss - t w. 2. 9. 4.

✓ Ed. Denny,  
✓ F. H. Middleton

Doing ~~giving~~ or manual work every day helps one to maintain a proper sense of proportion.

---

Tying the rupee to the pound while the pound goes off gold will, in India as well as in England, reduce imports. That will help cut down the income of the Indian govt. Also much gold is being drained from India now by govt. So India will be left impoverished. <sup>all</sup> This will compel use of cheap & Swadeshi goods & compel simplicity of living. Gandhi's program will be enforced.

---

Re. Sec of R. re "Sovereignty & the Far East"  
by Frida Utley - Allen & Unwin 1931. 16s.

---



Whittelsey House

330 West 47th St NYC

24th.  
1931

Had some fears that Gaidis & the  
Congress are committed to negotiation.  
He says their willingness to recognize  
certain foreign debts is proof. But  
Sen. Harney points out that Russia  
has already <sup>paid</sup> ~~settled~~ such debts to  
Poland & several other border states, &  
<sup>is</sup> ~~not~~ ready to negotiate all old debts  
if other countries will recognize  
contributions by Russia.

But what he does not & cannot see  
- that Satyagraha is to process  
generates much devotion to the cause  
as to transform all the holders of  
power. After all, it is the selfish  
use of it, not its spirit or individual

control which counts. The dedication to  
public use will be effective even if  
not made legal & structural. Or  
that may come later.

---

The only legitimate use of the word  
phrase "fear of God" is desire not  
to be separated from God, or perhaps a  
sense of weakness without union with  
God.

---

Anger and fear are a desire to separate.  
But you cannot separate in the realm of  
deepest realities for there time & space  
do not exist. N.V.R. may rouse the  
anger of the violent attacker, but it reveals  
the underlying unity at the same time.

---

"Integrative Psychology" - Wm M.  
Wanton, C. D. King, & E. H. Wanton  
Harcourt Brace & Keyser Paul, 1936.

The moral revolution involved in a  
successful National Satyagraha campaign  
in India will take care of the matter of  
timeliness over it. There can be no  
mass unless the peasants rise en masse,  
and that process & the tax refusals will  
clean out landlord control. The  
peasant will will prevail & Gandhi  
will not only accept but will apply,  
I think, much the same idea as he  
did at Dharasana salt raids, <sup>i.e.</sup> ~~say~~  
that govt & landlords had taken  
that which did not belong to  
them & ∴ the wrong by the  
people is only a violation to them.



Quote his actual words re Dharma.

~~Barley~~

In Class War chapter my "first develop the best instrument of social control, then let the masses handle things as suits them best. Satyagraha controls propaganda (if pamphlets) and is itself a new value, so that upper crust cannot enslave the people through their minds. Satyagraha makes for tolerance & social and economic freedom. Of passages in 11 of R & in pamphlet.

The hardening of the heart due to pride also checks the resolution & discipline & devotion of the N.V. resister and prepares and strengthens him to

create more his own form of life and  
thus assumes its subsequent universal.  
Purifies him.

---

Peace can be had by paying the  
price. The selfish people must  
pay the first instalment & teach the  
others to get rid of their selfishness.  
Eventually, all must pay the price.

---

In KVR Book, G's inconsistent chap,  
insert quotes from G's Dhammas, as to  
attitude toward it. His saying a suit  
& buying of foreign cloth fit in with  
loyalty policy & explain his attitude  
toward it. Cf. its verities. Coercion  
of a system of values, i.e. private it.

W. P. Book elaborate on idea that a leader must be religious. Cite <sup>Somerset</sup> H. G. Wells - *Seamless Knife & Prospects of Humanism* - Gould House, Std, 23 Solihull Sq. London 1931.

Andrews tells Searley that Bryan is essentially a conservative & Searley believes him because the ink is father of the thought. This is the reason why Br. are hoping that I will ~~But I won't~~ hold back his <sup>Congress leader</sup> followers, & as the latter are not being arrested yet. But I think that I am a radical in the true sense because he is guided by spirit & truth. He moves slowly only because that is the natural rate of organic growth. But he has been growing steadily more radical in thought & action all his life. He looks with Br. Empire in 1920. I'm



On the other side he looks with  
conception of private property. Hindu  
people possess key industries in  
control of State. Agriculture is  
certainly a key industry in India.  
So while Bapu is in jail peasants  
will be active. The movement & story  
concerning is on landlords &  
involves their overthrow & redistribu-  
tion of land. When Bapu gets  
out of jail he will accept that  
change, I believe. So I will be  
a real social revolution.

---

In my pamphlet I assert that  
cultural assimilation makes Americans  
naturally look to Be as superior.

---

Underlying sense of unity is more

important than justice, for justice  
 implies individualism & separateness.

---

I can see how Mills <sup>(AP man)</sup> gets impatient with  
 Gandhi, he can't understand him, &  
 J. does not regard the answering of con-  
 imaginative reporter questions as most  
 important. He lets Mills know it, &  
 that hurts Mills' pride.

---

The concept of probability lies in it  
~~antithesis~~ explanation of time. Spirit is  
 timeless. ∴ ~~Probability~~ Spiritual truths  
 are not probable. They simply are.

---

Revise my pamphlet by soft-peddling American  
 prejudice to Br. Flattery by mentioning that it  
 is easy because of cultural inheritance & associa-  
 tion.

E. of K  
Send Copies of Khadi 2d ed to

see older lists in this

1. My. Economist
2. Whittier House Joan copy to
3. Allen & Unwin Miss Marshall, ~~in~~ station
4. Elmer W.E. & U.
5. Mussey
6. Scott Meading (?) 20. Upton Close,
7. Noice
8. A.F.B.
9. Don Grey Sam Harris ~~copy~~ loan
10. Hal Ware on ~~copy~~
11. B. M. Jewell
12. A. F. Farneth
13. Pitt Sanchez (?)
14. Connerway (?)
15. W. G. Elliott.
16. W. C. & U. ~~copy~~
17. <sup>W.</sup> Norman Brown.
18. H. H. Brailford
19. C. F. Andrews



Dec 19. This week's Br. weeklies (Dus) report the end of the R.T.C. New statements being given by Macdonald. Others have had time to conceal their disappointment & anxiety about the future. Gandhi's <sup>unique</sup> power is shrouded at least by implication. The Br. member of the Round Table's article on India, written from India, is far less cocky and sure of Br. prospects in India.  $\frac{2}{3}$  of it is devoted to speculations about what went on in Gandhi's mind & decided him to go to the R.T.C. The rest is about financial difficulties. It admits that there is increased hostility to govt among all classes, even the landlords. They are more because of govt's <sup>tax</sup> ~~rent~~ increases. Middle class & peasants even because of increased taxes.

S.K. Ratcliffe in recent article in The Survey tries to show how Gandhi was put in his place

when he got to London. The Br. are  
~~trying to~~ implying that Gandhi is  
vain & does not count so much as he  
used to, that is not in the Round Table  
article also. The wish is father of the  
thought.

The row over debts & reparations in  
Congress means friction with Britain  
& perhaps more likelihood of upset in  
Germany with consequent financial  
weakening of Br. finance. So Br. will  
be less able to stand the strain of  
trouble in India. It is significant  
that Churchill is apparently saying  
nothing about India in public speeches  
in America. America may become more  
more critical of Br. Maybe Vandenberg's  
talk about greater prosperity for U.S.  
is based on idea of fall of G. Br.

It is clear that such country in self-defence is tending to become more self-sufficient & self-contained. This will be based on G. B.

---

If India were her own as well as political freedom by G. B. R., the aversion to violence on Indian methods ~~together with~~ as opposed to Western methods, together with the general tendency to ~~be~~ self-sufficiency ~~all~~ in every nation, - all this will tend to put a crimp in machinery & industrialism in India. <sup>Also Gandhi's prestige will</sup> ~~The demand~~ will count more heavily.

---

The draining of Indian gold by G. B. at this time is undoubtedly angering Indian bankers & industrialists & helping to prove the Congress thesis. That together with the B. R. advances in



London toward Butler & T. L. Blackburn  
will attract Indian traders, bankers  
& industrialists. Practically all Indian  
gangs are being forced into antagon-  
ism to G. B. Even those ~~who~~ like  
the Moderates who will not actively  
help the Congress, will not help  
G. B. either. Once the struggle  
gets going strongly, the momentum  
& energy of the Congress will overcome  
all barriers.

---

The Round Table Article above  
mentioned criticizes Gandhi for expending  
so much time with Britishers & his  
settlements. Aside from possibility that this  
criticism is evidence of an increasing  
conscience, it misses the point that the  
peasants are the most important element

in the whole situation & that G must  
keep faith with them at all costs,  
and because G<sup>o</sup>t has broken faith  
with them, G is bound to start  
civil dissolutions again.

---

Does the growth & change of character  
of human consciousness predicted by  
Gerald Heard have any bearing on my  
theory of money?

---

Is there something inherently wrong in  
trying to symbolize trust by money?  
Why were Buddhist priests forbidden  
to use money? Is such an attempted  
symbolization a mode of violence or of  
entailment? ~~How~~ How does it work out  
its real effects?

When bankers want govt to repudiate  
their debts & yet to maintain private  
debts, they are destroying people's faith  
in govt, <sup>& in capitalism & money</sup> & thus ruining the instrument  
(the state) which brings them their greatest power.  
Bankers as architects. They are using  
govts to a certain extent, to create large  
bond issues, & then using them to  
destroy part of them, for banker's benefit.  
But bankers want people still to pay  
taxes to govt & thus to bankers. It will  
not work. U.V.R. will see to that.

---

When Mr. bankers talk about their  
many responsibilities as creditors to  
Germany they are trying to disguise their  
heavy profits. They want

---

Simply whether it is important for



me to write my ideas about economics for  
 other people to read. Why not live  
 them quietly instead? More relaxing,  
 less noisy, more influential.

---

In Lawrence Hyde's *The Prospects  
 of Humanism*, Gould House, Ltd., London  
 1951, specially interesting passages are  
 on pp. 35, 36, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 69, 85,  
 86, 89, 92, 94, 97, 99, 101, 102, 105, 106, 107, 110,  
 115, 121, 122, 123-125, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135-1,  
 137, 138, 144, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 164, 164, 165,  
 166, 167, 171, 173, 183, 184, 189, 209, 211, 212,  
 215, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 225, 227, 232, 235,  
 236.

p. 121, "The only safe attitude toward aesthetic  
 pleasure is to regard it as something which  
 offers itself by the way, as a delicious, but  
 subordinate, element in the process of orient-

... In order to understand the limits of spiritual experience one must first be aware from within of what that experience is. This, however, only up

to a point. ---

ating oneself to external reality. The primary obligation laid upon us is that of striving at every point to attain to freedom and truth, the manifestation of which is attended by beauty and joy. Once our eyes wander from this central objective we are lost. We become specialists in sensations, and in the end the very pleasures which we are seeking turn to dust and ashes in our mouths.

pp 131-135. --- "For it so happens that without really facing the deeper problems of life one can yet acquire a sufficient acquaintance with the fundamental issues to be able to enjoy their presentation in terms of art, while at the same time having no strong impulse to modify the actual conduct of one's own life.

Here we find among the cultivated numbers of people who are sufficiently sensitive to read Proust or Flaubert with pleasure, but whose passion for truth never quite reaches the point of provoking them to act. Their responsiveness thus moves only to provide them with the opportunity of indulging in a sort of spiritual parasitism: they are thereby enabled to deal with the deeper problems of existence in purely symbolic terms. The consequence is that on the one hand they never come to understand the creations of the artist in any real sense, and on the other their inner lives are poisoned by the lack of continuity between their consciousness and their being.



"No truth can be properly understood until it is not merely contemplated, but actually lived out. And here the contrast between the artist who has created the work and the cultivated person who is admiring it presents itself in the sharpest relief. For that which is written, composed or painted by a true artist represents only, as it were, one facet of his personality. The same consciousness which finds expression in creation on the plane of the imagination finds expression also on the plane of life. He may, indeed, be unbalanced, infantile, or morbidly sensitive; the man of inspiration only rarely succeeds in attaining to a true equilibrium. But his deep-

not striving, at least, is to live organically, to translate realization into action. The peculiarly selective attitude to experience which finds a reflection in his art is reflected also in his dress, his speech, his way of living, his attitude to human relationships. All these branches spring from the same root.

(134)

"The case of the average cultivated person is widely different. He is lucid enough in his appreciation, but he shrinks perceptibly from involving more than his mind in his association with truth and beauty. He reads and professes to enjoy such writers as Katherine Mansfield and D. H. Lawrence. Yet in almost every paragraph over which his eye passes there is either a direct or an

implicit challenge to his actual  
mode of living. If he were really to  
identify himself fully with the  
standards of truth and morality  
which are maintained in the works  
which he is studying he would  
almost inevitably be driven to  
change his whole mode of exist-  
ence. These people refuse to make  
compromises; he himself is  
compromising all the time. They  
stand for spiritual freedom; he  
is the slave of a hundred conven-  
tions. They are prepared at every  
point to take risks; he is dis-  
turbed by any prospect of un-  
certainty or unpleasantness. They are  
almost wholly immune in their  
personal relations; he is afraid of



either speaking or hearing the more intimate truths. It is difficult therefore, to regard him as being anything else but a sentimentalist - a sentimentalist who is violating his own integrity by attempting to live on two different planes of reality at the same time.

"Pigmentally enough, there are no people who are more sensitive to this fact than the very artists whose work gives rise to this <sup>particular</sup> state of affairs. Toward the poor and simple they are habitually more than kindly. Up to a point they are even like to tolerate the vulgarian, provided only he has a certain degree of vitality. But for the refined people who are content to come to terms with truth on the plane of the

imagination only, they have a barely  
concealed contempt. In one sense,  
indeed, art is the real enemy of  
culture.

"Finally, we have to consider the  
fact that the most serious pain  
paid for this failure to take action  
is that the individual never really  
gets down to those issues which  
are important, not in the abstract, but  
for him alone. In simple terms, he  
never properly finds himself. He  
may have lofty ideals, he may be  
tolerant, chivalrous, sweet-natured;  
but while he is still living on this  
plane of generalities he never fully  
possesses the truths that he contem-  
plates. The whole man has never  
become completely involved in the

process of adaptation. The steel needs still to be tempered. As a result, he can never bring the full weight of a matured personality to bear upon the issues with which he is dealing. It is for this reason that the speaking and writing of the more academic type of thinker usually have about them that faint and unconvincing quality which is so familiar, ~~and~~ yet which it is so difficult to define with any exactitude. What is said is true; it may even be profound. But somehow it has no cogency, sting or power of penetration; it does not come from the right place. It is not the fruit of real personal experience, not truly possessed. We nod our approval, yet a short time after we have laid



down the book we find it extraordinarily difficult to recall what it is we have read. The light has not been radiated from a true centre, but reflected glamorously from the clouds. We turn with relief to the living center, even if he is treating of less significant themes.

"What it all comes to is that the average cultivated person is spiritualized at the periphery but not at the core. Everything is all right but the fundamentals. There is sensitivity, <sup>logicality</sup>, imagination, <sup>urbanity</sup>, but no true severity, and little poise or power. The man at once charms us with his command of the more superficial levels of experience and disappoints us by his failure to deal with funda-

mentals. His consciousness is not irrigated from the central font of his being; the ray has not mounted from the roots. Deep down his is the whole time on the defensive. Although he moves freely and confidently about on the plane of ideas, he is defenceless against one ray from the solar plexus. Silence discovers him. When he is deprived of his polished intellectual weapons he finds himself unable to compel or persuade. -- Although he knows a great deal, what he is is something relatively insignificant.

p. 86. "Kindliness does not come primarily from being kind; it comes from attaining to a state of which kindliness is one of the exterior manifestations. This is it to

say that a person who deliberately sets  
about to be contemptuous, appreciative, and  
unselfish, will not reap a valuable  
harvest. But it remains true that,  
apart from the fact that he is  
thoroughly seriously exposed to the  
danger of becoming self-righteous,  
he is not dealing with the problem in  
its fundamental aspect. The radical  
task is to turn inwards and change  
ourselves; the rest will follow."

---

pp. 101-102. --- "He is intuitively aware that  
in so far as we emphasize the separate-  
ness of our individualities at the expense  
of the unity which they together consti-  
tute, we cut ourselves off from the  
deeper levels of being. For the whole  
is not merely the sum of the parts of



which it is made up, nor even the organ in which they perform a function: it is the only true reality. The individual only becomes truly alive when he is momentarily forming within his own person the more comprehensive life of the One. Hence his passionate desire to blend his being mystically with that of his fellow-men, his desire, not merely to co-operate and fraternize with them, but, in a sense, to be them as well. No Pagan could have said with Horatius, that 'we are all of us responsible for all of us', or that 'every person participates in the guilt of his fellow-men'. " ----

p. 151. "---- Further, the individual, as a result, is hardly ever able to behave with real deliberation. He is not acting because

he knows deep within his being that this is what he must do at this particular juncture. He is not acting because he has discovered by resolute introspection that he will violate himself if he behaves otherwise. He has not identified himself with his deeds in any profound sense. He acts usually because, after balancing things up, this or that seems to be what is left, what appears, after all, to be the best thing to do.

"But it is almost certainly not the best thing to do. In such matters the critical intellect cannot decide; the decision must be made with the whole of the man's being. Otherwise it is only a pseudo-decision; the result of having looked outwards

upon the concrete possibilities before one,  
 but not inwards, so as to discover the  
 direction in which the deeper life is  
 flowing within the soul." ---

p. 166. "One perceives here the tremendous  
 deprivation which is undergone by the  
 person for whom definite religious faith  
 and practice are no longer possible. As  
 there are no rites and ceremonies in  
 which he can participate, he loses  
 the enormous privilege of associating  
 his physical body with his most  
 profound states of mind. He has no  
 means of unifying the aesthetic and  
 the devotional element in his soul,  
 there is no institution in his private  
 life for regularly bringing his  
 thoughts back to a centre from which  
 he can derive sustenance and power,



no routine for reinforcing his flagging aspirations and resolutions. He has no means of symbolizing the unity of all in the One in terms of physical association. He never has the privilege of attending a gathering which is specifically sacred in character, which is held in a place set apart from other places, in which not only ---

--- But any mode of expression which is to be at all satisfying must involve action. And to express one's sense of unity in action means something more than being charitable and tolerant to those with whom one comes in contact, or bestowing one's approval on movements which make for the breaking down of cultural or economic

(Ameliorism)

barrier. It means what Americans  
call 'getting together'. -----

p. 168. "I do not mean that in most cases  
there is any other course open to them.  
In declining to associate themselves  
with existing religious organizations  
of a traditional type, they are, I am  
convinced, following a perfectly right  
instinct. For any individual who is  
truly possessed of the modern conscience  
there are no other courses possible. The  
religion of the churches is a dead  
religion; on that point one must  
remain firm. What I want to  
emphasize, rather, is the fact that it  
is little use for modern educated  
people to pretend that they can get  
along without any religion beyond  
the vague idealism of the cultured."

The above at p 161 bears on the  
q. of money & its defects.

---

Be careful that my M.V.N. book  
does not sound self-inflation. Kennedy  
is religion. But is too slight in treatment  
of religion

---

As long as G.B. was world's  
greatest ex. nation she needed free  
trade so that others would pay her  
easily. Now she has stopped being the  
greatest ex. she no longer feels need for  
free trade

---

Gandhi is destroying 4 old govt  
controls or ~~value~~ schemes of value, but  
by putting religion into politics &  
strengthening religion is practically, he is



revising an old & enormously powerful  
 scheme of values, - religion, - the most  
 powerful & lasting of all. Doing  
 what Lawrence Hyde argues for.

DECEMBER 4, 1931

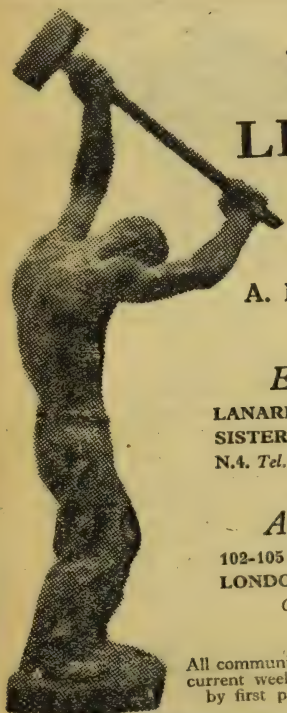
# THE NEW LEADER

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 current week's issue must be received  
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If European govt  
 default on their  
 debts America will  
 not loan money to  
 them to finance a  
 new war in the  
 near future. With  
 this <sup>further</sup> breakdown in  
 sanctity of inter-govt

agreements, all treaties will become weaker  
 & the prestige of all govt will be  
 weakened also.

Tragedy is the contrast between our hopes  
& ideals and actual accomplishments or  
events. Indiscrepancy is the contrast  
between what we profess & what we  
do. ~~Do~~ Perhaps it comes when we  
realise that our consciousness has been  
hiding us as to what are really our  
ideals. Indiscrepancy involves a lowering of  
the subconscious censorship.

---

Apparently the Br. have offered the  
Moslem League the chance to <sup>sell</sup> ~~the~~ Indian  
civil service jobs if they will elect  
J. Br. Very well. Let them try. Moslems  
can't collect taxes any better than Hindus.  
Moslem parents suffer as much as Hindu  
ones. If parents are for Gandhi, he  
can prevail over the Moslem League.

---

The failure of the Prince of Wales visit to India in 1920<sup>21</sup> was an indication of a failure of the Br. use of royal flattery as a political bond for India. This up with Gandhi

For Hartford & Philadelphia get together

- (1) Statement of Br. & others on joint & separate resolutions & on H. - M. ground. } Amrita Chandra  
Lyon report  
Monthly - minute  
Gandhi  
Mention in India  
who dealt in matter
- (2) Membership of Congress - increase & make up.
- (3) Representative character of R.T.C. delegates
- (4) Done on censorship.
- (5) Done on Bengal ordinances
- (6) Number of Nationalist Muslims
- (7) Re Ambedkar or Gandhi as up of untrustworthies
- (8) Statements of Gandhi & a Congress position & power.
- (9) Statements of Jinnah, Macdonald & Sanjay on fertility of repression.
- (10) Congress platform

Give them something of prophesy, a means of interpretation & a statement of existing situation, a statement of working of R.T.C.



Use also my Indian Review article & the  
inside of now at 21. Why now copy make.

---

England will not last as long against  
India as she did against The Boers or  
vs. Ireland. In the S. African war England  
was still full of illusions about war &  
its glory. Not so now. Both then &  
against Ireland there were not many  
outside distractions or financial  
weaknesses. Both then were small  
nations in numbers and territory.  
Both then were wholly violent struggles.  
Britain is a little more humble now  
than then, a little more tired of blood,  
a little less self-assured, <sup>less self-confident</sup>, a little more  
doubtful of her record and of her  
future. Here the Indian civilization is  
entirely different & now in vanguard

than Ireland was. Here the sympathy of  
 all Asia & Africa is behind India, -  
 a tremendous impendorable. While it will  
 help make Britain degenerate, it also lowers  
 her morale. Nothing like Gandhi's  
 visit took place in the other struggles.  
 The other countries of the world would  
 be more pleased to see England fail  
 this time than at the two previous  
 occasions. America is watching andly,  
 for U.S. method of conquest is  
~~purely~~ more purely economic & ∴ the  
 failure of Br. military methods does  
 not diminish our expenditures, in respect,  
 as much as it diminishes the French,  
 for example. So ~~Br. will not~~ The  
 financial linkings will neutralize world  
 opinion vs Br. & ∴ she will not get  
 much moral support from anyone.

European & home problems will prevent London  
from seeing India in its true light. There is  
really a financial & commercial war going on  
now that weakens England as much as France  
weakened her at time of American revolution.

---

If the good part of my action are really  
God's (cf. Jte) then nothing that an  
enemy can do to me can hurt that.  
∴ No need for anger, for no real loss is  
possible.

---

Strong determination is needed to control  
anger.

---

A constructive (social & economic) program  
enables one to get rid of the bondage of hate.  
∴ Work out discipline & program in



great detail over all fields.

I want in military chapter a reference to Chap I, and say that the military men know some about the human heart, the U.S. men know all that and more too.

H. A. Hensley . . . . . United May 26, 1932  
 of American Express Co., Bremen, Germany  
 Presafter, Wallahey College

If people take suffering in the right way it becomes creative, spiritually & morally. We do not pity the mother, too much, for the suffering she undergoes in giving birth to a child, because we know she is creating something that is worth the pain. So we ~~should~~ need not and probably should not pity too much those who undergo voluntary suffering for a

fine & great cause. E. of the Indians.  
Their suffering is ~~causing~~ to be sympathized  
with & mitigated as much as possible,  
but not made too much of. Above all  
there should be no self-pity  
~~the~~ chief effort of outsiders should be to  
themselves help the nation.

Buddha founded his plans on the  
aid of suffering. But the nobility of  
souls, Christ & Gandhi, voluntarily  
undergo suffering in order to create.  
So do mothers. Suffering is perhaps  
inherently necessary to create something  
valuable, in this world of space & time.  
So to use suffering as a reason for wanting  
to escape from this world is simply  
to say I want to leave this world  
because it is what it is. A dodging  
ethic. Seems not wholly sound.  
But perhaps Buddha has been misrep-

vented. Perhaps he did not lay so much stress on suffering as an evil.

If suffering is necessary for creation, to want to avoid suffering is to want to avoid creation.

---

In joint chaps of HVR book living out the building up of a new social order & ∴ the constructive progress & new values. Perhaps — a footnote. Don't let my last chap sound self-righteous. p. 170

In a review of my pamphlet emphatic point, overlooked by Stays, that socialism has & has already begun to incorporate certain of the really best elements & features of socialism. I set my doubt as to the violence of large scale organizations.

Perhaps one of the defects of money is that it tends to relieve people of the severity of



taking action in order to create a new trust.  
of p. 166 above. In this respect it is like  
parliamentarism, & even like machinery.

---

It is barely possible that Gandhi will  
suspend ~~the~~ calling civil disobedience if he  
finds the country has not yet sufficiently  
organized & ready for it. Then it will  
be a retreat to reform the ranks &  
train again. But I doubt whether that  
will now be feasible or desirable. He  
is undoubtedly playing for time & to  
get fully informed & to put new  
spirit into the crowd.

---

Money, a symbol, and so largely  
mathematical is perhaps more a matter of  
mind than most symbols. Of course it  
has its emotional connotations, too, & they

are strong. But because it is so strongly intellectual  
 it is less a symbol that affects our whole being  
 than others. It tends  $\therefore$  to stay from time  
 to time which is more a matter of the whole being.  
 Time itself is more moral than intellectual, while  
 space is more intellectual than emotional.

---

The moral you give, - kindness is one of the  
 powers of the center.

---

The pamphlet, what I have described is not  
 the way Gandhi's mind works, but that is  
 the result of his direct simplicity, put into  
 western political terms.

---

Might insert in pamphlet that J.P. Morgan  
 has Engl. Country estate and Mellon sends his  
 son to Oxford.

---

One reason why ~~there~~ U.S. finance & industry will not be especially hostile to fall of Br. power in India, - aside from our cupidity for a greater share in Indian market, - is that since U.S. does not depend so largely on foreign commerce as Br. our economic system is not especially threatened by the principle of foreign boycott or growth of Indian industry or handicraft. Also our ruling class rely less on political methods & more on money and influence than do those of Br. We have gone further with the policy of establishing U.S. controlled factories in foreign countries than has Br.

I should thus name that after the struggle is over Indian industrialists who want capital will tend to come to the



U.S. for it. Gardiner's influence would tend to  
stick to London, - a kindness. Indian trade  
may yet be the kindness with which India  
will ~~be treated~~ grow coals on the head of  
a defeated Britain.

---

When the Mr. Sabine party talk of their  
fears for the ~~the~~ workers in a free India,  
what they are really afraid of is the  
loss of Mr. trade & mfg. Ha, ha!  
Oh the subtle moral twist!

---

Might insert into the pamphlet the  
view that ~~the~~ postage & revenue & contempt  
paid act as a censorship & is an  
instrument of government.

In 1952 many Britons will go to India to  
learn things at first hand. E.g. Mr.  
Thompson.

The Pope's refusal to see Gandhi shows  
how the Church is controlled by State (Br.)  
& political ideas. Pope saw Shariat Ali  
introduced by Mr. Clague & Co. Also  
how modern Christianity fails to recog-  
nize and understand the spirit of Christ  
when it is embodied.

---

The 10% tariff means the beginning of  
a more self-sufficient & i.e. a less  
exploiting & less parasitic England.  
She has been compelled to become less  
parasitic. It came about partly  
because of break-down of money symbol,  
of development of machine industry in  
former markets, of increased nationalities

in other countries, & break down of imperialism

---

The self-deception of the Englishman is a defect of ~~his~~ one of his qualities, i.e. <sup>a sense for</sup> moral character. He always puts a moral gloss on all his actions i.e. He can be compared by Sisyphus which will end his pretensions by revealing them naked to the world and to the Englishman himself. The fall of Br. Empire will, through its financial, commercial, industrial, political & social repercussions, do much to decrease the prestige of vice in human organization.

---

The Br. policy of ignoring facts they dislike works beautifully so long as Br. prestige continues. For they can be sure that other people will disregard such facts also



But as soon as Mr. prestige collapses, the  
<sup>though it</sup> ignoring is only laughed at by the rest of  
the world, & the Briton will be driven  
into changing his mental habit of a  
century or more. It will ~~and~~ enforce  
more careful thinking and greater <sup>intellectual</sup> honesty  
in Britain.

---

Part of the cause for the moving to  
Mr. tariff policy is their loss of  
ability to compel India to absorb all  
Mr. wants to dump.

---

The next thing for me to do, if  
possible, is to draft a sort of field  
regulation manual, or book of training  
for individual & group Satyagraha,  
one for India & one for U.S. Use  
Western ~~for~~ terminology. Such it

with my ideas about education. Use Bergin's  
rules & ideas. Also my pamphlet &  
book on Satyagraha. Perhaps also some  
of my ideas about money.

---

Jan 3, 1932. The cable of protest from  
London to Wellington & the telegram  
from the Indian Welfare Assoc. of  
Bombay (largely Br. & Br inspired) both  
~~are~~ strongly indicative of divided Br  
minds at the very start. But the  
Tories have the last in this matter.  
Undoubtedly many new plans will  
be used by Indians. The Viceroy  
making Congress a personal offense  
is exceedingly bad policy & will  
go far to ruin the Br case in the  
eyes of the world. Br. policy is  
being stripped naked of all its pretenses

Undoubtedly Gandhi on his way home  
desires a lot of new ways of building up  
a new Indian govt inside the old  
and new ways of defeating the old  
govt. The women will take a part  
that will offset any advantage govt  
will get from stopping mails etc to Indian  
merchants who help Congress. That  
will develop purely Indian banking  
& drive it underground & thus loosen  
Britain's financial hold over India.  
Every step Britain takes alienates more  
groups of Indians. And as these  
Indian groups without adverse to Gandhi  
are driven his way, they come more  
under his influence.

---



For Hartford

What the struggle means :- Day 21 analogy. Attitudes of

parents & parents' friends. Effective majority all  
do not believe I, but such a minority, unless they are ignorant, & it  
must be shown. Only one thing  
that is necessary. Some Indian differ. Some

attached to Doc. just on 1 side in U.S. Rev.  
CFA's List

Methods used. L.V.R. moral jiu jitsu. Fulfills all  
 principles of ans. Discipline. Some break dis-  
 cipline & are violent. Not as many as last  
 9 months as in 1 month of Chi & L.V.R. no  
 need for aggressive & defenses. Bayliff.  
 Refusal to pay taxes. Sedition?

Possible Result . Victory for India .

The man Gardner. Only the people who have  
not met or talked with him ~~are~~ are  
harsh adjectives about him. Descriptions  
of his personality <sup>hunts & money, R.T. artist,</sup>  
Ralphs.

R.T. a definite retrogression.

never say "talk about" cheap "anarchy". Consider the point that Gandhi is releasing forces over which he has no control. Use electric shock ideas.

---

When England loses, there will be a  
great struggle <sup>in Europe</sup> between Germany, France &  
Russia. Perhaps Germany might ally with  
Russia to defeat France. Germany will  
have the greatest industrial machine  
still. America will be longest  
material power in the world for awhile.

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The starting again of civil disturbance

has opened a channel & released the pent-up & disciplined energies of India. There will now be less Indian unrest I think. So significant that Subash Bose spoke only of starting NVR in Bengal. They all believe its power now. My pamphlet had only 2 months to work in. It will add to tide of my cotton broker. I think that so many of the schools & colleges in Bombay closed for this festival, & so many mills, too. More youth & more women in on this. Will not show struggle till at least Jan 1<sup>st</sup> which is late at for its beginning. By Feb 1 there will be English voices of protest & doubt, I think.

V. J. Patel & S. Bose cannot understand that Gandhi is not compromising but being drawn to the Br. & showing up to all the world the Br. lack of decency.

In NVR look up to S. Agnew



chivalry as an example of lunacy in  
Jim Fitch. Also refer to G's last offers  
& to his Gordon trip as examples of  
W.V.R. tactics. Also the Delhi agreement

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Jan 5. The split in the Indian League &  
resignation of its Pres & Secy and its evolution  
or W.V.F. tactics of govt, all at this early  
date, are important. Very clearly the Tories are  
desperate & badly frightened, or they wouldn't be  
so hasty.

The adverse criticism of Stanley Baldwin's  
policy is another crack in  
also Jim Fitch's adverse comment, & Benthall's telegram to  
the many mouths. <sup>Macdonald</sup> <sup>Salts</sup>. These cracks will  
close when the real meaning of the struggle  
comes home to the British. Salts of them  
now think it is only a question of  
planting Indians with more rope. They do  
not involve the end of empire.

The new R.T.C. committee do not sail from England till Jan 15. Said in Bombay  $\therefore$  about Feb 1. By then so much ~~work~~ will have happened that they will not be able to get any effective help from any Indians. Indian Moderates will not dare to make any promises; Moslem defection will put a crimp in that quarter. Even the Princes will be highly non-committal. So the double-handed policy advocated by Jinnah cannot be worked after the single handed policy has been so fightful for a month. If they let Gandhi out again he will require more than promises. Willingdon will not be able to do as much as I ~~was~~ did on that sort of stuff. Also <sup>the impetuous</sup> they the Tory movement will carry on for enough months to start the social revolution. I think. Once that starts, I do not think Bageet will try to stop it.

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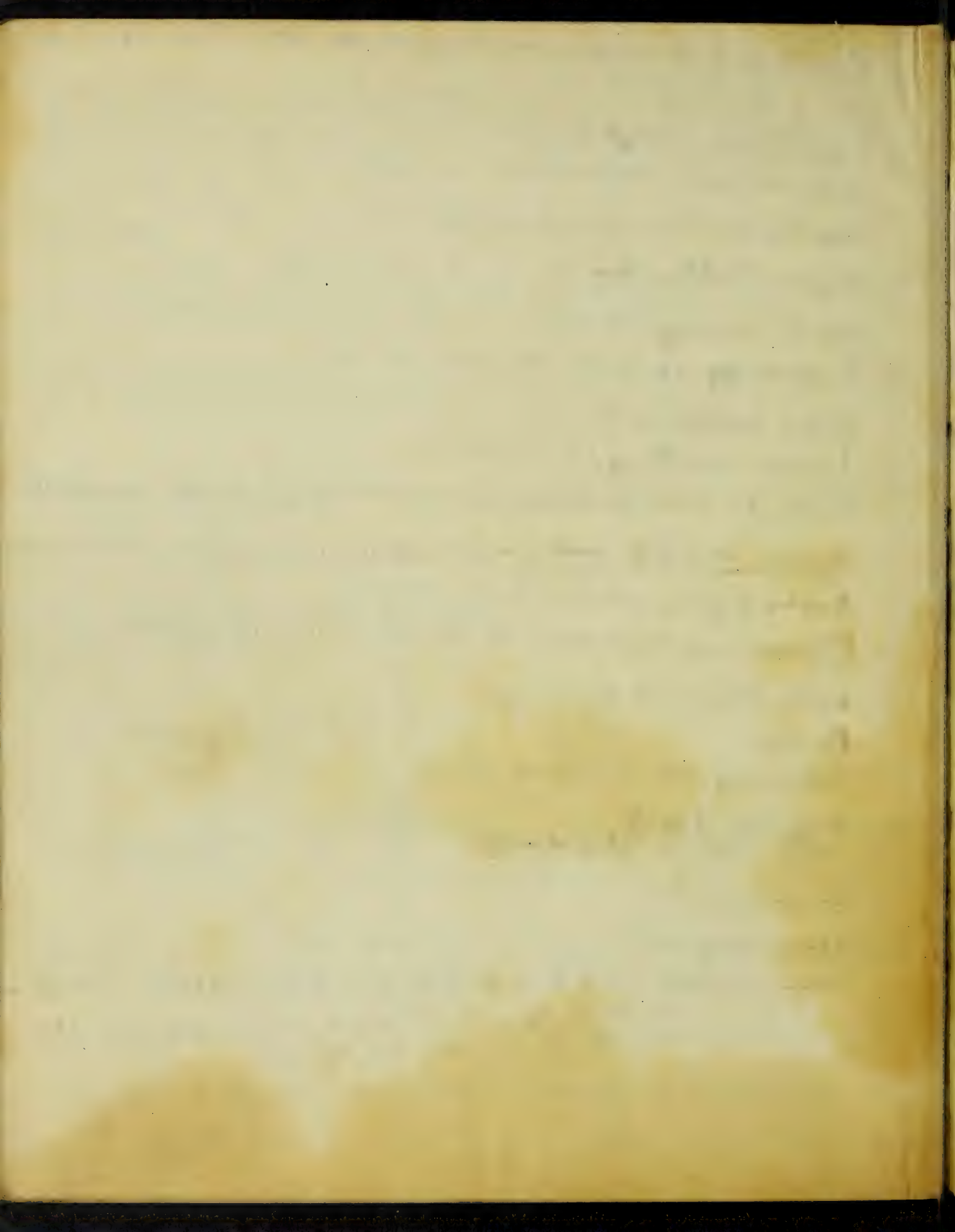
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Introduction 1. The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of various factors on the growth of plants.

2. The study was conducted over a period of six months, from January to June.

3. The results of the study are presented in the following sections.

4. The study was conducted in a controlled environment, using a growth chamber.

5. The study was funded by the National Science Foundation.

6. The study was conducted by a team of researchers from the University of California.

7. The study was published in the Journal of Plant Physiology.

8. The study was conducted in a greenhouse, using a randomized block design.

9. The study was funded by the National Science Foundation.

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